THE

# HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

VOL. IV.

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#### HISTORY

OF

### ENGLAND,

FROM

#### THE REVOLUTION

TO

THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

(Defigned as a Continuation of Mr. Hume's History.)

IN FIVE VOLUMES.

By T. SMOLLETT, M. D.

VOL. IV.

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#### HISTORY

OF

## ENGLAND,

FROM THE REVOLUTION

TO THE DEATH OF GEORGE THE SECOND.

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§ I. T TAVING thus, to the best of our power, given a faithful and exact detail of every material event in which Great Britain was concerned either at home, or in her fettlements abroad, during the greatest part of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, we shall now return to Europe, and endeavour to explain the beginning of a bloody war in Germany, which then feemed to have become the chief object of the British councils. On the eve of a rupture between France and England, it was natural for his B- M- to provide for the fafety of his e-l d-s, the only quarter by which he was at all accessible to the efforts of the enemy, who he forefaw would not fail to annoy him through that avenue. He at that time stood upon indifferent terms with the K—of P—, who was confidered as a partifan and ally of France; and he knew that the house of Austria alone would not be fufficient to support him against two fuch powerful antagonists. In this emergency he had recourse to the Empress of Russia, who, in consequence of a large fubfidy granted by England, engaged to furnish a strong body of forces for the defence of H--r. P-n Majesty, startled at the conditions of this treaty, took an opportunity to declare that he would not fuffer foreign forces of any nation to enter the empire, either as principals or auxiliaries: a declaration which probably flowed from a jealoufy and aversion he had conceived to the court of Petersburgh, as well as from a resolution he had formed of striking some great stroke in Germany, without any risque of being restricted or controlled. He knew he should give umbrage to the French King, who had already made preparations for penetrating into Westphalia: but he took it for granted he should be able to exchange his connections with France for an alliance with Great Britain, which would be much less troublesome, and much more productive of advantage: indeed, fuch an alliance was the necessary consequence of his declaration. his B-ck M-y made a requisition of the Russian auxiliaries, he must have exposed himself to the resentment

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of a warlike monarch, who hovered on the skirts of his electorate at the head of one hundred and forty thousand men, and could have subdued the whole country in one week; and if he forbore to avail himself of the treaty with the Czarina, he did not know how foon the K-g of P-a might be reconciled to his most Christian Majesty's design of invasion. As for the Empress-Queen, her attention was engroffed by schemes for her interest or preservation; and her hands fo full, that she either could not or would not fulfil the engagements she had contracted with her former and firmest allies. In these circumstances the K—g of E—d fought and obtained the alliance of P-a, which, to the best of our comprehension, entailed upon G--- B--- the enormous burthen of extravagant subfidies, together with the intolerable expense of a continental war, without being productive of one advantage either politive or negative to E-d or H-r. On the contrary, this connection threw the Empress-Queen into the arms of France, whose friendship she bought at the expense of the Barrier in the Netherlands, acquired with infinite labour, by the blood and treafure of the maritime powers: it gave birth to a confederacy of despotic princes; sufficient, if their joint force was fully exerted, to overthrow the liberties of all the free states in Europe; and, after all, H—r has been over-run, and fubdued by the enemy; and the K-g of P---a put to the ban of the Empire. All these consequences are, we apprehend, fairly deducible from the refolution which his P—n M—y took, at this juncture, to precipitate a war with the house of Austria. The apparent motives that prompted him to this measure we shall presently explain. In the mean time, the defensive treaty between the Empress-Queen and France was no fooner ratified, than the Czarina was invited to accede to the alliance, and a private minister sent from Paris to Petersburgh, to negociate the conditions of this accession, which the Empress of Russia accordingly embraced: a circumstance so agreeable to the court of Verfailles, that the Marquis

de L'Hopital was immediately appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the court of Russia. Applications were likewise made to the courts of Madrid and Turin, folliciting their concurrence; but their Catholick and Sardinian Majesties wisely resolved to observe a neutrality. At the fame time intrigues were begun by the French emissaries in the senate of Sweden, in order to kindle up a war between that nation and Prussia; and their endeavours succeeded in the sequel, even contrary to the inclination of their fovereign. At prefent a plot was discovered for altering the form of government, by increafing the power of the crown; and feveral persons of rank being convicted upon trial, were beheaded as principals in this conspiracy. Although it did not appear that the King or Queen was at all concerned in the scheme, his Swedish Majesty thought himself so hardly treated by the Diet, that he threatened to refign his royalty, and retire into his own hereditary dominions. This defign was extremely difagreeable to the people in general, who espoused his cause in opposition to the Diet, by whom they conceived themselves more oppressed than they should have been under an unlimited monarchy.

§ II. The King of Prussia, alarmed at these formidable alliances, ordered all his forces to be completed, and held in readiness to march at the first notice; and a report was industriously circulated, that by a fecret article in the late treaty between France and the House of Austria, these two powers had obliged themselves to destroy the protestant religion, and overturn the freedom of the Empire, by a forced election of a King of the Romans. The cry of religion was no impolitick measure; but it no longer produced the same effects as in times past. Religion was made a pretence on both fides: for the partizans of the Empress-Queen infinuated, on all occasions, that the ruin of the catholick faith in Germany was the principal object of the new alliance between the Kings of Great Britain and Prussia. It was in consequence of such suggestions, that his Britannick Majesty ordered his electoral minister at

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the Diet to deliver a memorial to all the ministers at Ratifbon, expressing his surprise to find the treaty he had concluded with the King of Prussia industriously represented as a ground of apprehension and umbrage, especially for religion. He observed, that as France had made open difpositions for invading the electorate of Hanover, and difturbing the peace of the Empire; that as he had been denied, by the Empress-Queen, the succours stipulated in treaties of alliance; and as he was refused affiftance by certain states of the Empire, who even feemed disposed to favour fuch a diversion; he had, in order to provide for the fecurity of his own dominions, to establish peace and tranquillity in the Empire, and maintain its system and privileges, without any prejudice to religion, concluded a defensive treaty with the King of Prussia: that, by this instance of patriotic zeal for the welfare of Germany, he had done an effential fervice to the Empress-Queen, and performed the part which the head of the Empire, in dignity and duty, ought to have acted: that time would demonstrate how little it was the interest of the Empress-Queen to engage in a strict alliance with a foreign power, which, for upwards of two centuries, had ravaged the principal provinces of the Empire, maintained repeated wars against the archducal house of Austria, and always endeavoured, as it fuited her views, to excite diffrust and diffention among the princes and states that compose the Germanick body.

§ III. The court of Vienna formed two considerable armies in Bohemia and Moravia; yet pretended that they had nothing in view but self-preservation, and solemnly disclaimed both the secret article, and the design which had been laid to their charge. His most Christian Majesty declared, by his minister at Berlin, that he had no other intention but to maintain the public tranquillity of Europe; and this being the sole end of all his measures, he beheld with surprise the preparations and armaments of certain potentates: that, whatever might be the view with which they were made, he was disposed to make use of the

power

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appears,

power which God had put into his hands, not only to maintain the public peace of Europe against all who should attempt to disturb it, but also to employ all his forces, agreeably to his engagements, for the affiftance of his ally, in case her dominions should be attacked; finally, that he would act in the same manner in behalf of all the other powers with whom he was in alliance. This intimation made very little impression upon the King of Prussia, who had already formed his plan, and was determined to execute his purpose. What his original plan might have been, we shall not pretend to disclose; nor do we believe he imparted it to any confident or ally. It must be confessed, however, that the intrigues of the court of Vienna furnished him with a specious pretence for drawing the fword, and commencing hostilities. The Empress-Queen had fome reason to be jealous of such a formidable neighbour. She remembered his irruption into Bohemia, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, at a time when she thought that country, and all her other dominions, fecure from his invafion by the treaty of Breslau, which she had in no particular contravened. She caballed against him in different courts of Europe: she concluded a treaty with the Czarina, which, though feemingly defensive, implied an intention of making conquests upon this monarch: she endeavoured to engage the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, as a contracting power in this confederacy; and, if he had not been afraid of a fudden visit from his neighbour of Prussia, it cannot be supposed but he would have been pleased to contribute to the humiliation of a prince who had once before, without the leaft provocation, driven him from his dominions, taken possesfion of his capital, routed his troops, and obliged him to pay a million of crowns, to indemnify him for the expense of this expedition: but he carefully avoided taking such a Itep as might expose him to another invasion, and even refused to accede to the treaty of Petersburgh, though it was expressly defensive; the Casus Fæderis being his Prussian Majesty's attacking either of the contracting parties. It BOOK III. 1756. appears, however, that Count de Bruhl, prime minister and favourite of the King of Poland, had, in conjunction with some of the Austrian ministers, carried on certain seandalous intrigues, in order to embroil the King of Prussia with the Empress of Russia, between

whom a mifunderstanding had long subfisted.

§ IV. His Prussian Majesty perceiving the military preparations of the court of Vienna, and having obtained intelligence of their fecret negociations with different powers in Europe, ordered M. de Klingraafe, his minister at the Imperial court, to demand whether all those preparations of war, on the frontiers of Silefia, were defigned against him, and what were the intentions of her Imperial Majesty? To this demand the Empress replied, That in the present juncture she had found it necessary to make armaments, as well for her own defence as for that of her allies; but that they did not tend to the prejudice of any person or state whatever. The King, far from being fatisfied with this general answer, sent fresh orders to Klingraafe, to represent, That after the King had disfembled, as long as he thought confistent with his fafety and honour, the bad designs imputed to the Empress would not fuffer him longer to disguise his sentiments; that he was acquainted with the offensive projects which the two courts had formed at Petersburgh; that he knew they had engaged to attack him fuddenly with an army of two hundred thousand men; a design which would have been executed in the spring of the year, had not the Rushian forces wanted recruits, their fleet mariners, and Livonia a fufficient quantity of corn for their support; that he constituted the Empress arbiter of peace or war: if she desired the former, he required a clear and formal declaration, or positive assurance, that she had no intention to attack him, either this year or the next; but he should look upon an ambiguous answer as a declaration of war; and he called heaven to witness, that the Empress alone would be guilty of the innocent blood that should be spilt, and all the difmal

difmal consequences that would attend the commission of CHAP. hostilities.

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§ V. A declaration of this nature might have provoked a less haughty court than that of Vienna, and, indeed, feems to have been calculated on purpose to exasperate the pride of her Imperial Majesty, whose answer he soon received, to this effect: That his Majesty the King of Prussia had already been employed, for fome time, in all kinds of the most considerable preparations of war, and the most disquieting with regard to the public tranquillity, when he thought fit to demand explanations of her Majesty, touching the military dispositions that were making in her dominions; dispositions on which she had not resolved till after the preparations of his Prussian Majesty had been made; that though her Majesty might have declined explaining herfelf on those subjects, which required no explanation, she had been pleased to declare, with her own mouth, to M. de Klingraafe, that the critical state of publick affairs rendered the meafures fhe was taking absolutely necessary for her own safety, and that of her allies; but that, in other respects, they tended to the prejudice of no person whatsoever: that her Imperial Majesty had undoubtedly a right to form what judgment she pleased on the circumstances of the times; and likewise that it belonged to none but herfelf to estimate her own danger: that her declaration was fo clear, she never imagined it could be thought otherwise: that being accustomed to receive, as well as to practife the decorums which fovereigns owe to each other, she could not hear without astonishment and sensibility the contents of the memorial now prefented by M. de Klingraafe; fo extraordinary, both in the matter and expressions, that she would find herfelf under a necessity of transgressing the bounds of that moderation which she had prescribed to herself, were she to answer the whole of its contents: nevertheless, she thought proper to declare, that the information communicated to his Prussian Majesty of an offensive alliance against him subfifting between herself and the Empress of Rushia,

together

BOOK III. 1756. together with the circumstances and pretended stipulations of that alliance, were absolutely salse and forged, for no fuch treaty did exist, or ever had existed. She concluded with observing, that this declaration would enable all Europe to judge of what weight and quality those dreadful events were which Klingraafe's memorial announced; and to perceive that, in any case, they could not be imputed to her Imperial Majesty. This answer, though seemingly explicit, was not deemed fufficiently categorical, or at least not fuitable to the purposes of the King of Prussia, who, by his resident at Vienna, once more declared, that if the Empress-Queen would fign a positive affurance that she would not attack his Prussian Majesty either this year or the next, he would directly withdraw his troops, and let things be restored to their former footing. This demand was evaded, on pretence that fuch an affurance could not be more binding than the folemn treaty by which he was already secured; a treaty which the Empress-Queen had no intention to violate. But, before an answer could be delivered, the King had actually invaded Saxony, and published his declaration against the court of Vienna. court of Vienna believing that the King of Prussia was bent upon employing his arms somewhere; being piqued at the dictatorial manner in which his demands were conveyed; unwilling to lay themselves under further restrictions; apprehensive of giving umbrage to their allies, and confident of having provided for their own fecurity, refolved to run the risque of his refentment, not without hopes of being indemnified in the course of the war for that part of Silefia which the Queen had been obliged to cede in the treaty of Breslau.

§ VI. Both fides being thus prepared, and perhaps equally eager for action, the King of Prussia would no longer suspend his operations, and the storm first fell upon Saxony. He resolved to penetrate through that country into Bohemia, and even to take possession of it as a frontier, as well as for the convenience of ingress and egress to and from the Austrian dominions. Besides, he had reason to

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believe the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, was con- CHAP. nected with the Czarina and the Empress-Queen; therefore, he thought it would be impolitick to leave that prince in any condition to give him the least disturbance. His army entered the Saxon territory towards the latter end of August, when he published a declaration, importing that the unjust conduct and dangerous views of the court of Vienna against his Majesty's dominions laid him under the necessity of taking proper measures for protecting his territories and subjects; that for this purpose he could not forbear taking the difagreeable resolution to enter with his troops the hereditary dominions of his Majesty the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony: but he protested before God and man, that on account of his personal esteem and friendship for that prince, he would not have proceeded to this extremity, had he not been forced to it by the laws of war, the fatality of the present conjuncture, and the neceffity of providing for the defence and fecurity of his fubjects. He reminded the publick of the tenderness with which he had treated the Elector of Saxony, during the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-four, and of the bad confequences refulting to that monarch from his engagements with the enemies of Prussia. He declared that the apprehensions of being exposed again to fuch enterprises had obliged him to take those precautions which prudence dictated; but he protested in the most solemn manner, that he had no hostile views against his Polish Majesty, or his dominions; that his troops did not enter Saxony as enemies, and he had taken care that they should observe the best order and the most exact discipline: that he defired nothing more ardently than the happy minute that should procure him the satisfaction of restoring to his Polish Majesty his hereditary dominions, which he had feifed only as a facred depositum. By his minister at Dresden, he had demanded a free passage for his forces through the Saxon dominions; and this the King of Poland was ready to grant, with reasonable limitations, to be fettled by commissaries appointed for that purpoie.

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BOOK III. 1756. purpose. But these were formalities which did not at all fuit with his Prussian Majesty's disposition or design. Even before this requisition was made, a body of his troops, amounting to fifteen thousand, under the command of Prince Ferdinand, brother to the Duke of Brunswick, took poffession of Leipsick on the twentieth day of September. Here he published a declaration, fignifying that it was his Prussian Majesty's intention to consider and defend the inhabitants of that Electorate as if they were his own fubjects; and that he had given precise orders to his troops to observe the most exact discipline. As the first mark of his affection, he ordered them to provide the army with all forts of provision, according to a certain rate, on pain of military execution. That fame evening notice was given to the corporation of merchants, that their deputies should pay all taxes and customs to the King of Prussia: then he took possession of the custom-house and excise-office, and ordered the magazines of corn and meal to be opened for the use of his foldiers.

6 VII. The King of Poland, apprehensive of such a vifitation, had ordered all the troops of his electorate to leave their quarters, and affemble in a strong camp marked out for them between Pirna and Konigstein, which was entrenched, and provided with a numerous train of artillery. Thither the King of Poland repaired, with his two fons Xaverius and Charles; but the Queen and the rest of the royal family remained at Dresden. Of this capital his Prussian Majesty, with the bulk of his army, took possession on the eighth day of September, when he was visited by Lord Stormont, the English ambassador at that court, accompanied by Count Salmour, a Saxon minister, who, in his master's name, proposed a neutrality. The King of Prussia professed himself extremely well pleased with the proposal; and, as the most convincing proof of his neutrality, defired the King of Poland would separate his army, by ordering his troops to return to their former quarters. His Polish Majesty did not like to be so tutored in his own dominions: he depended for his own fafety

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more upon the valour and attachment of his troops thus CHAP. affembled, than upon the friendship of a prince who had invaded his dominions, and sequestered his revenue without provocation; and he trusted too much to the situation of his camp at Pirna, which was deemed impregnable. In the mean time, the King of Prussia fixed his head-quarters at Seidlitz, about half a German league diftant from Pirna, and posted his army in such a manner as to be able to intercept all convoys of provision defigned for the Saxon camp: his forces extended on the right towards the frontiers of Bohemia, and the vanguard actually feifed the paffes that lead to the circles of Satzer and Leutmeritz in that kingdom; while Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick marched with a body of troops along the Elbe, and took post at this last place without opposition. At the same time the King covered his own dominions, by affembling two confiderable bodies in Upper and Lower Silefia, which occupied the passes that communicated with the circles of Buntzlau and Koningsgratz. Hostilities were commenced on the thirteenth day of September by a detachment of Prussian hustars, who attacked an Austrian escorte to a convoy of provisions, defigned for the Saxon camp; and having routed them, carried off a confiderable number of loaded waggons. The magazines at Drefden were filled with an immense quantity of provision and forage for the Prussian army, and the bakers were ordered to prepare a vast quantity of bread, for which purpose thirty new ovens were erected. When the King of Prussia first arrived at Drefden, he lodged at the house of the Counters Moczinska; and gave orders that the Queen and royal family of Poland should be treated with all due veneration and respect \*:

\* His Majesty seems to have abated of this respect in the sequel, if we may believe the affertions of his Polish Majesty's Queen, and the court of Vienna, who affirmed, that fentinels were posted within the palace where the Queen and royal family refided; as also at the door of the secret cabinet, where the papers relating to foreign transactions were deposited. The keys of this cabinet were feifed, and all the writings demanded. The whole Saxon ministry were discharged from their respective employments, and a new commission was established by the King of Prussia for the administration of affairs in general.

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BOOK even while the Saxon camp was blocked up on every fide, he fometimes permitted a waggon, loaded with fresh provision and game, to pass unmolested for the use of his ba

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Polish Majesty.

6 VIII. During these transactions the greatest part of the Prussian army advanced into Bohemia, under the command of Veldt-Mareschal Keith\*, who reduced the town and palace of Tetchen, took possession of all the passes, and encamped near Auflig, a small town in Bohemia, at no great distance from the Imperial army, amounting to fifty thousand men, commanded by Count Brown, an officer of Irish extract, who had often distinguished himself in the field by his courage, vigilance, and conduct. Prussian Majesty having left a considerable body of troops for the blockade of Pirna, assumed in person the command of Mareschal Keith's corps, and advanced to give battle to the enemy. On the twenty-ninth day of September he formed his troops in two columns, and in the evening arrived with his van at Welmina, from whence he faw the Austrian army posted with its right at Lowoschutz, and its left towards the Egra. Having occupied with fix battalions

When the Queen entreated this prince to remove the fentinels posted within the palace, and contiguous passages, agreeably to his assurances that all due respect should be observed towards the royal family, the King ordered the guards to be doubled, and fent an officer to demand of her Majesty the keys of the fecret cabinet. The Queen obtained this officer's confent, that the doors should be sealed up; but afterwards he returned with orders to break them open: then her Majesty, placing herself before the door, said, she trusted so much to the promise of the King of Prussia, that she could not believe he had given fuch orders. The officer declaring that has orders were positive, and that he durft not disobey them, she continued in the same place, declaring, that if violence was to be used, he must begin with her. 'The officer returning to acquaint the King with what had paffed, her Majesty conjured the ministers of Pruffia and England to remind his Majesty of his promise, but her representations had no effect; the officer returned with fresh orders to use force, in spite of the opposition she might make against it in person. The Queen, finding herself in danger of her life, at length withdrew: the doors were forced, the chefts broke open, and all the papers feifed.

\* Brother to the Earl Marischal of Scotland, a gentleman who had signalised himself as a general in the Russian army, and was accounted one of the best officers of his time; not more admired for his genius, than amiable in his disposition.

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battalions a hollow way, and some rising grounds, which CHAP. commanded the town of Lowoschutz, he remained all night under arms at Welmina; and on the first day of October, early in the morning, formed his whole army in order of battle; the first line, confisting of the infantry, occupying two hills, and a bottom betwixt them; the fecond line being formed of some battalions, and the third composed of the whole cavalry. The Austrian general had taken possession of Lowoschutz, with a great body of infantry, and placed a battery of cannon in front of the town: he had formed his cavalry chequerwife, in a line between Lowoschutz and the village of Sanschitz; and posted about two thousand Croats and irregulars in the vineyards and avenues on his right. The morning was darkened with a thick fog, which vanished about seven: then the Prussian cavalry advanced to attack the enemy's horse, but received fuch a fire from the irregulars, posted in vineyards and ditches, as well as from a numerous artillery, that they were obliged to retire for protection to the rear of the Prussian infantry and cannon. There being formed, and led back to the charge, they made an impression on the Austrian cavalry, and drove the irregulars and other bodies of infantry from the ditches, defiles, and vineyards which they poffessed: but they suffered so severely in this dangerous service, that the King ordered them to reascend the hill, and take post again behind the infantry, from whence they no more advanced. In the mean time a furious cannonading was maintained on both fides with considerable effect. At length the left of the Prussian infantry was ordered to attack the town of Lowoschutz in flank; but met with a very warm reception, and, in all likelihood, would have miscarried, had not Veldt-Mareschal Keith headed them in person: when he drew his fword, and told them he would lead them on, he was given to understand, that all their powder and thot was exhausted; he turned immediately to them with a chearful countenance, faid he was very glad they had no more ammunition, being well affured the enemy would not withstand

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BOOK withstand them at push of bayonet; so saying, he advanced at their head, and driving the Austrians from Lowoschutz, fet the suburbs on fire. Their infantry had been already obliged to quit the eminence on the right; and now their whole army retired to Budin, on the other fide of the Egra. Some prisoners, colours, and pieces of cannon, were taken on both fides; and the loss of each might amount to two thousand five hundred killed and wounded: fo that, on the whole, it was a drawn battle, though both generals claimed the victory. The detail of the action, published at Berlin, declares that the King of Prussia not only gained the battle, but that fame day established his head quarters at Lowoschutz: whereas the Austrian gazette affirms, that the Mareschal Count Brown obliged his Prussian Majesty to retire, and remained all night on the field of battle; but next day, finding his troops in want of water, he repaired to the camp of Budin. the battle was at all decifive, the advantage certainly fell to the Austrians; for his Prussian Majesty, who, in all probability, had hoped to winter at Prague, was obliged, by the opposition he met with, to resign this plan, and retreat before winter into the electorate of Saxony.

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§ IX. The Prussian army having rejoined that body which had been left to block up the Saxons at Pirna, his Polish Majesty and his troops were reduced to such extremity of want, that it became indispensibly necessary either to attempt an escape, or surrender to the King of Prussia. The former part of the alternative was chosen, and the plan concerted with Count Brown, the Austrian general, who, in order to facilitate the execution, advanced privately with a body of troops to Lichtendorf, near Schandau; but the junction could not be effected. On the fourteenth day of October the Saxons threw a bridge of boats over the Elbe, near Konigstein, to which castle they removed all their artillery; then striking their tents in the night, passed the river undiscovered by the enemy. They continued to retreat with all possible expedition; but the roads were so bad, they made little progress. Next day,

CHAP. VI.

day, when part of them had advanced about half way up a hill opposite to Konigstein, and the rest were entangled in a narrow plain, where there was no room to act, they perceived that the Prussians were in possession of all the passes, and found themselves surrounded on every side, fainting with hunger and fatigue, and destitute of every convenience. In this deplorable condition they remained, when the King of Poland, from the fortress of Konigstein, fent a letter to his general, the Veldt-Mareschal Count Rutowski, vesting him with full and discretionary power to surrender, or take fuch other meafures as he should judge most conducive to the preservation of the officers and soldiers\*. By this time Count Brown had retired to Budin, fo that there was no choice left. A capitulation was demanded: but, in effect, the whole Saxon army was obliged to furrender at difcretion: and the foldiers were afterwards, by compulsion, incorporated with the troops of Prussia. The King of Poland being thus deprived of his electoral dominions, his troops, arms, artillery, and ammunition, thought it high time to provide for his own fafety, and retired with all expedition to Poland. His VOL. IV. Pruffian

\* The letter was to the following effect:

· Veldt-Mareschal Count Rutowski,

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" IT is not without extreme forrow I understand the deplorable situation which a chain of misfortunes has referved for you, the rest of my generals, and my whole army: but we must acquiesce in the dispensations of Providence, and confole ourselves with the rectitude of our sentiments and intentions. They would force me, it feems, as you give me to understand by Major-General the Baron de Dyherrn, to submit to conditions the more severe, in proportion as the circumstances are become more necessitous. I cannot hear them mentioned. I am a free monarch; fuch I will live; fuch I will die; and I will both live and die with honour. The fate of my army I leave wholly to your discretion. Let your council of war determine whether you must surrender prisoners of war, fall by the sword, or die by famine. May your resolutions, if possible, be conducted by humanity: whatever they may be, I have no longer any share in them: and I declare you shall not be answerable for aught but one thing, namely not to carry arms against me or my allies. I pray God may have you, Mr. Mateschal, in his holy keeping. Given at Konigstein the 14th of October, 1756.

" AUGUSTUS, Rex."

To the Veldt-Mareschal the Count Rutowski.

BOOK III.

Prussian Majesty cantoned his forces in the neighbourhood of Seidlitz, and along the Elbe towards Drefden. His other army, which had entered Bohemia, under the command of the Count de Schwerin, retired to the confines of the county of Glatz, where they were distributed in quarters of cantonment; so that this short campaign was finished by the beginning of November.

& X. The King of Poland, in his distress, did not fail to implore the affiftance and mediation of neutral powers. His minister at the Hague presented a memorial to the States-General, complaining, that the invasion of Saxony was one of these attacks against the law of nations, which, from the great respect due to this law, demanded the affistance of every power interested in the preservation of its own liberty and independency. He observed, that, from the first glimpse of misunderstanding between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, he had expressly enjoined his ministers at all the courts of Europe to declare, that it was his firm resolution, in the present conjuncture of affairs, to observe the strictest neutrality. He represented, that a free and neutral state had been, in the midst of peace, invaded by an enemy, who difguifed himfelf under the mafque of friendship, without alledging the least complaint, or any pretension whatsoever; but founding himself folely on his own convenience, made himself master, by armed force, of all the cities and towns of the electorate, difmantling fome, and fortifying others: that he had difarmed the burghers; carried off the magistrates as hostages for the payment of unjust and enormous contributions of provisions and forage; seised the coffers, confiscated the revenues of the electorate, broke open the arfenals, and transported the arms and artillery to his own town of Magdeburgh; abolished the privy-council, and, instead of the lawful government, established a directory, which acknowledged no other law but his own arbitrary will. He gave them to understand, that all these proceedings were no other than preliminaries to the unheard-of treatment

1756.

treatment which was referved for a queen, whose virtues CHAP. ought to have commanded respect, even from her enemies: that, from the hands of that august princess, the archives of the state were forced away by menaces and violences, notwithstanding the security which her Majesty had promised herself under the protection of all laws, human and divine; and notwithstanding the repeated assurances given by the King of Prussia, that not only her person, and the place of her refidence, should be absolutely safe, but that even the Prussian garrison should be under her direction. He observed, that a prince who declared himself protector of the protestant religion had begun the war, by crushing the very state to which that religion owes its establishment, and the preservation of its most invaluable rights: that he had broke through the most respectable laws which constitute the union of the Germanick body, under colour of a defence which the Empire stood in no need of, except against himself: that the King of Prussia, while he infifts on having entered Saxony as a friend, demands his army, the administration of his dominions, and, in a word, the facrifice of his whole electorate; and that the Prussian directory, in the declaration of motives, published under the nose of a prince to whom friendship was pretended, thought it superfluous to alledge even any pretext, to colour the usurpation of his territories and revenues—Though this was certainly the case, in his Prussian Majesty's first exposition of motives, the omission was afterwards supplied, in a subsequent memorial to the States-General; in which he charged the King of Poland, as an accomplice in, if not an acceffary to the treaty of Petersburgh; and even taxed him with having agreed to a partition of some Prussian territories, when they should be conquered. This treaty of partition, however, appears to have been made in time of actual war, before all cause of dispute was removed by the peace of Drefden.

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Mile the Austrian and Prussian armies were in the field, their respective ministers were not idle at Ratisbon, where three Imperial decrees were published against

. 1756.

BOOK his Prussian Majesty: the first, summoning that prince to withdraw his troops from the electorate of Saxony: the fecond, commanding all the vaffals of the Empire employed by the King of Prussia to quit that service immediately; and the third, forbidding the members of the empire to fuffer any levies of foldiers, for the Prussian service, to be raifed within their respective jurisdictions. The French minister declared to the diet, that the proceedings of his Prussian Majesty having disclosed to the world the project concerted between that prince and the King of England, to excite in the Empire a religious war, which might be favourable to their particular views, his most Christian Majesty, in confequence of his engagement with the Empress-Queen, and many other princes of the Empire, being refolved to fuccour them in the most efficacious manner, would forthwith fend fuch a number of troops to their aid, as might be thought necessary to preserve the liberty of the Germanick body. On the other hand, the Prussian minister affured the diet, that his mafter would very foon produce the proofs that were come to his hands of the plan concerted by the courts of Vienna and Dresden, for the subversion of his electoral house, and for imposing upon him a yoke, which seemed to threaten the whole Empire.

§ XII. About the same time, the Russian resident at the Hague communicated to the States-General a declaration from his miftrefs, importing, that her Imperial Majesty having feen a memorial prefented at the court of Vienna by the King of Prussia's envoy extraordinary, was thereby convinced that his Prussian Majesty's intention was to attack the territories of the Empress-Queen; in which case, she (the Czarina) was inevitably obliged to fuccour her ally with all her forces; for which end fhe had ordered all her troops in Livonia to be forthwith affembled on the frontiers, and hold themselves in readiness to march: that, moreover, the Ruffian admiralty had been enjoined to provide immediately a fufficient number of gallies for transporting a large body of troops to Lubeck. The ministers of the Empress-Queen, both at the Hague and at London, delivered memorials

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morials to the States-General and his Britannick Majesty, demanding the fuccours which thefe two powers were bound to afford the house of Austria by the treaty of Aixla-Chapelle; but their High Mightinesses kept warily aloof, by dint of evasion, and the King of Great-Britain was far otherwise engaged. The invasion of Saxony had well nigh produced tragedies in the royal family of France. The Dauphiness, who was far advanced in her pregnancy, no fooner learned the distressful circumstances of her parents, the King and Queen of Poland, than the was feized with violent fits, which occasioned a miscarriage, and brought her life into the most imminent danger. The Prussian minister was immediately ordered to quit Versailles; and directions were dispatched to the French minister at Berlin, to retire from that court without taking leave. Finally, the Emperour of Germany concluded a new convention with the French King, regulating the fuccours to be derived from that quarter: he claimed, in all the usual forms, the affiftance of the Germanick body, as guarantee of the pragmatick fanction and treaty of Drefden; and Sweden was also addressed on the same subject.

§ XIII. The King of Prussia did not passively bear all the imputations that were fixed upon his conduct. His minister at the Hague presented a memorial, in answer to that of the Saxon resident, in which he accused the court of Drefden of having adopted every part of the scheme which his enemies had formed for his destruction. affirmed that the Saxon ministers had, in all the courts of Europe, played off every engine of unwarrantable politicks, in order to pave the way for the execution of their project: that they had endeavoured to give an odious turn to his most innocent actions: that they had spared neither malicious infinuations, nor even the most atrocious calumnies, to alienate all the world from his Majesty, and raise up enemies against him every where. He faid, he had received information that the court of Saxony intended to let his troops pass freely, and afterwards wait for events of which they might avail themselves, either by joining his

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B O O K III. 1756. enemies, or making a diversion in his dominions: that in fuch a fituation he could not avoid having recourse to the only means which were left him for preventing his inevitable ruin, by putting it out of the power of Saxony to increase the number of his enemies. He afferted, that all the measures he had pursued in that electorate were but the necessary consequences of the first resolution he was forced to take for his own preservation: that he had done nothing but deprived the court of Saxony of the means of hurting him; and this had been done with all possible moderation: that the country enjoyed all the fecurity and all the quiet which could be expected in the very midst of peace, the Prussian troops observing the most exact discipline: that all due respect was shown to the Queen of Poland, who had been prevailed upon, by the most suitable representations, to suffer some papers to be taken from the Paper Office, of which his Prussian Majesty already had copies; and thought it necessary, to ascertain the dangerous design of the Saxon ministry against him, to secure the originals; the existence and reality of which might otherwise have been denied. He observed that every man has a right to prevent the mischief with which he is threatened, and to retort it upon its author; and that neither the constitutions nor the laws of the Empire could obstruct the exertion of a right so superiour to all others as that of felf-prefervation and felf-defence; especially when the depository of these laws is so closely united to the enemy, as manifestly to abuse his power in her favour.

§ XIV. But the most important step which his Prussian Majesty took in his own justification, was that of publishing another memorial, specifying the conduct of the courts of Vienna and Saxony, and their dangerous designs against his person and interest, together with the original documents adduced as proofs of these sinister intentions. As a knowledge of these pieces is requisite to form a distinct idea of the motives which produced the dreadful war upon the continent, it will not be amiss to usher the substance of them to the reader's acquaintance. His Prussian Majesty assume.

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affirms, that to arrive at the fource of the vast plan upon CHAP. which the courts of Vienna and Saxony had been employed against him ever fince the peace of Dresden, we must trace it as far back as the war which preceded this peace: that the fond hopes which the two allied courts had conceived upon the fuccefs of the campaign in the year one thousand feven hundred and forty-four gave occasion to a treaty of eventual partition, stipulating that the court of Vienna should possess the duchy of Silesia and the county of Glatz; while the King of Poland, Elector of Saxony, should share the duchies of Magdeburgh and Croissen; the circles of Zullichow and Swibus, together with the Prussian part of Lusatia: that after the peace of Drefden, concluded in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, there was no further room for a treaty of this nature: yet the court of Vienna proposed to that of Saxony a new alliance, in which the treaty of eventual partition should be renewed: but this last thought it necessary, in the first place, to give a greater confistency to their plan, by grounding it upon an alliance between the Empress-Queen and the Czarina. Accordingly these two powers did, in fact, conclude a defensive alliance at Petersburgh in the course of the ensuing year: but the body or oftenfible part of this treaty was composed merely with a view to conceal from the knowledge of the publick fix fecret articles, the fourth of which was levelled fingly against Prussia, according to the exact copy of it, which appeared among the documents. In this article, the Empress-Queen of Hungary and Bohemia sets out with a protestation, that she will religiously observe the treaty of Dresden: but explains her real way of thinking upon the subject, a little lower, in the following terms: " If the King of Prussia should be the first to depart from " this peace, by attacking either her Majesty the Empress-"Queen of Hungary and Bohemia, or her Majesty the " Empress of Russia, or even the republick of Poland; in " all these cases, the rights of the Empress-Queen to Si-" lesia and the county of Glatz would again take place,

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" and recover their full effect: the two contracting parties " should mutually affist each other with fixty thousand men " to atchieve these conquests." The King observes upon this article, that every war which can arise between him and Russia, or the republick of Poland, would be looked upon as a manifest infraction of the peace of Dresden, and a revival of the rights of the house of Austria to Silesia; though neither Russia nor the republick of Poland is at all concerned in the treaty of Dresden; and though the latter, with which the King lived in the most intimate friendship, was not even in alliance with the court of Vienna: that, according to the principles of the law of nature, received among all civilifed nations, the most the court of Vienna could be authorifed to do in fuch cases, would be to fend those succours to her allies which are due to them by treaties, without her having the least pretense, on that account, to free herfelf from the particular engagements fubfifting between her and the King; he appealed, therefore, to the judgment of the impartial world, whether in this fecret article the contracting powers had kept within the bounds of a defensive alliance; or whether this article did not rather contain a plan of an offensive alliance against the King of Prussia. He affirmed it was obvious, from this article, that the court of Vienna had prepared three pretences for the recovery of Silesia; and that she thought to attain her end, either by provoking the King to commence hostilities against her, or to kindle a war between his Majesty and Russia by her secret intrigues and machinations: he alledged that the court of Saxony, being invited to accede to this alliance, eagerly accepted the invitation; furnished its ministers at Petersburgh with full powers for that purpose; and ordered them to declare that their master was not only ready to accede to the treaty itself, but also to the secret article against Prussia; and to join in the regulations made by the two courts, provided effectual measures should be taken, as well for the fecurity of Saxony, as for its indemnification and recompense, in proportion to the efforts and progress that

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that might be made: that the court of Dresden declared, if upon any fresh attack from the King of Prussia the Empress-Queen should, by their affistance, not only reconquer Silefia, and the county of Glatz, but also reduce him within narrower bounds, the King of Poland, as Elector of Saxony, would abide by the partition formerly flipulated between him and the Empress-Queen. He also declared that Count Loss, the Saxon minister at Vienna, was charged to open a private negociation for fettling an eventual partition of the conquest which might be made on Prussia, by laying down, as the basis of it, the treaty of Leiplick, figned on the eighteenth day of May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five, as would appear by the documents affixed. He owned it had been supposed, through the whole of this negociation, that the King of Prussia should be the aggressor against the court of Vienna; but he infifted, that even in this case the King of Poland could have no right to make conquests on his Prussian Majesty. He likewise acknowledged that the court of Saxony had not yet acceded in form to the treaty of Petersburgh; but he observed, its allies were given to understand again and again, that it was ready to accede without restriction, whenever this could be done without rifque; and the advantages to be gained should be fecured in its favour: circumstances proved by divers authentick documents, particularly by a letter from Count Fleming to Count de Bruhl, informing him that Count Uhlefield had charged him to represent afresh to his court, that they could not take too fecure measures against the ambitious views of the King of Prussia; that Saxony, in particular, ought to be cautious, as being the most exposed: that it was of the highest importance to strengthen their old engagements upon the footing proposed by the late Count de Harrach in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-five; a step which might be taken on occasion of his Polish Majesty's accession to the treaty of Petersburgh. The answer of Count Bruhl to this dispatch imported, That the King of Poland was not averse to treat B O O K III.

in the utmost secrely with the court of Vienna about fuccours, by private and confidential declarations relating to the fourth secret article of the treaty of Petersburgh, on condition of reasonable terms and advantages, which in this case ought to be granted to his Majesty. He quoted other dispatches, to prove the unwillingness of his Polish Majesty to declare himself, until the King of Prussia should be attacked, and his forces divided; and that this scruple was admitted by the allies of Saxony. From these premisses he deduced this inference, that the court of Dresden, without having acceded in form to the treaty of Peterfburgh, was not less an accomplice in the dangerous designs which the court of Vienna had grounded upon this treaty; and that having been difpenfed with from a formal concurrence, it had only waited for that moment when it might, without running any great risque, concur in effect, and share the spoils of its neighbour. In expectation of this period, he faid, the Austrian and Saxon ministers laboured in concert and underhand with the more ardour, to bring the Casus Fæderis into existence; for it being laid down as a principle in the treaty, that any war whatever between him and Rusha would authorize the Empress-Queen to retake Silefia, there was nothing more to be done but to kindle fuch a war; for which purpose no method was found more proper than that of embroiling the King with the Empress of Russia; and to provoke that princess with all forts of false infinuations, impostures, and the most atrocious calumnies, in laying to his Majesty's charge a variety of designs, sometimes against Russia, and even the person of the Czarina; fometimes views upon Poland, and fometimes intrigues in Sweden. By these and other such contrivances, he affirmed they had kindled the animofity of the Empress to such a degree, that in a council held in the month of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, she had resolved to attack the King of Prussia, without any further discussion, whether he should fall upon any of the allies of Russia, or one of them should begin with

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with him: a refolution which for that time was frustrated by their want of seamen and magazines; but the preparations were continued, under pretence of keeping themselves in a condition to sulfil their engagements contracted in the last subsidiary convention with England; and when all were finished, the storm would fall on the King of Prussia.

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& XV. This is the fubstance of that famous memorial published by his Prussian Majesty, to which the justifying pieces or authentick documents were annexed; and to which a circumstantial answer was exhibited by the partifans of her Imperial Majesty. Specious reasons may, doubtless, be adduced on either side of almost any dispute, by writers of ingenuity: but, in examining this contest, it must be allowed that both sides adopted illicit practices. The Empress-Queen and the Elector of Saxony had certainly a right to form defensive treaties for their own prefervation; and, without all doubt, it was their interest and their duty to secure themselves from the enterprises of such a formidable neighbour: but, at the fame time, the contracting parties feem to have carried their views much farther than defensive measures. Perhaps the court of Vienna confidered the cession of Silesia as a circumstance altogether compulfive, and, therefore, not binding against the rights of natural equity. She did not at all doubt that the King of Prussia would be tempted by his ambition and great warlike power to take some step which might be justly interpreted into an infraction of the treaty of Dresden, and in that case she was determined to avail herself of the confederacy she had formed, that she might retrieve the countries she had lost by the unfortunate events of the last war, as well as bridle the dangerous power and disposition of the Prussian monarch: and, in all probability, the King of Poland, over and above the same consideration, was defirous of some indemnification for the last irruption into his electoral dominions, and the great fums he had paid for the subsequent peace. Whether they were authorised by the law of nature and nations to make reprifals by an actual BOOK III.

actual partition of the countries they might conquer, supposing him to be the aggressor, we shall not pretend to determine: but it does not at all appear that his Prussian Majesty's danger was such as entitled him to take those violent steps which he now attempted to justify. By this time the flame of war was kindled up to a blaze that foon filled the Empire with ruin and defolation; and the King of Prussia had drawn upon himself the resentment of the three greatest powers in Europe, who laid aside their former animolities, and every consideration of that balance which it had cost such blood and treasure to preserve, in order to conspire his destruction. The King himself could not but foresee this confederacy, and know the power it might exert: but probably he confided so much in the number, the valour, and discipline of his troops; in the skill of his officers; in his own conduct and activity; that he hoped to crush the house of Austria by one rapid endeavour at the latter end of the feason, or at least establish himself in Bohemia, before her allies could move to her affistance. In this hope, however, he was disappointed by the vigilance of the Austrian councils. He found the Empress-Queen in a condition to make head against him in every avenue to her dominions; and in a fair way of being affifted by the circles of the empire. He faw himfelf threatened with the vengeance of the Russian empress, and the fword of France gleaming over his head, without any prospect of assistance but that which he might derive from his alliance with Great-Britain. Thus the K- of ---- d exchanged the alliance of R---, who was his fubfidiary, and the friendship of the Empress-Queen, his old and natural ally, for a new connexion with his P---n Majesty, who could neither act as an auxiliary to G-B-n, nor as a protector to H-; and for this connexion, the advantage of which was merely negative, fuch a price was paid by E---d as had never been given by any other potentate of Europe, even for services of the greatest importance.

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5 XVI. About the latter end of November the Saxon minister at Ratisbon delivered to the diet a new and ample memorial, explaining the lamentable state of that electorate, and imploring afresh the assistance of the Empire. The King of Pruffia had also addressed a letter to the diet, demanding fuccour of the feveral states, agreeably to their guarantees of the treaties of Westphalia and Dresden: but the minister of Mentz, as director of the diet, having refused to lay it before that assembly, the minister of Brandenburgh ordered it to be printed, and fent to his court for further instructions. In the mean time, his Prussian Majesty thought proper to intimate to the King and senate of Poland, that should the Russian troops be permitted to march through that kingdom, they might expect to fee their country made a scene of war and desolation. In Prance the prospect of a general and fanguinary war did not at all allay the diffurbance which fprang from the diffention between the clergy and parliament, touching the bull Unigenitus. The King being again brought over to the ecclefiastical side of the dispute, received a brief from the Pope, laying it down as a fundamental article, that whosoever refuses to submit to the bull Unigenitus is in the way to damnation: and certain cases are specified, in which the facraments are to be denied. The parliament of Paris, confidering this brief or bull as a direct attack upon the rights of the Gallican church, issued an arret or decree, suppressing the said bull; referving to themselves the right of providing against the inconveniencies with which it might be attended; as well as the privilege to maintain in their full force the prerogatives of the crown, the power and jurisdiction of the bishops, the liberties of the Gallican church, and the customs of the realm. King, diffatisfied with their interpolition, declared his delign to hold a bed of justice in person at the palace. Accordingly, on the twelfth day of November, the whole body of his guards, amounting to ten thousand men, took post in the city of Paris: and next day the King repaired with the usual ceremony to the palace, where the bed of justice

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justice was held: among other regulations, an edict was issued for suppressing the fourth and fifth chambers of inquests, the members of which had remarkably distinguished themselves by their opposition to the bull Unigenitus.

§ XVII. In England, the dearth of corn, arising in a great measure from the iniquitous practice of engrossing, was fo feverely felt by the common people, that infurrections were raifed in Shropshire and Warwickshire by the populace, in conjunction with the colliers, who feifed by violence all the provision they could find; pillaging without distinction the millers, farmers, grocers, and butchers, until they were dispersed by the gentlemen of the country, at the heads of their tenants and dependants. Disorders of the same nature were excited by the colliers on the forest of Dean, and those employed in the works The corporations, noblemen, and Cumberland. gentlemen, in different parts of the kingdom, exerted themselves for the relief of the poor, who were greatly distressed; and a grand council being assembled at St. James's on the same subject, a proclamation was published, for putting the laws in speedy and effectual execution against the forestallers and engrossers of corn.

§ XVIII. The fear of an invasion having now subsided, and Hanover being supposed in greater danger than Great-Britain, the auxiliaries of that electorate were transported from England to their own country. At the latter end of the feafon, when the weather became fevere, the innkeepers of England refused to admit the Hessian soldiers into winter quarters, as no provision had been made for that purpose by act of parliament; so that they were obliged to hut their camp, and remain in the open fields till January: but the rigour of this uncomfortable situation was foftened by the hand of generous charity, which liberally supplied them with all manner of refreshment, and other conveniencies: an humane interpolition, which rescued the national character from the imputation of

cruelty and ingratitude.

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& XIX. On the fecond day of December his Majesty opened the fession of Parliament with a speech that seemed to be dictated by the genius of England. He expressed his confidence, that, under the guidance of divine Providence, the union, fortitude, and affection of his people would enable him to furmount all difficulties, and vindicate the dignity of his crown against the ancient enemy of Great Britain. He declared that the fuccour and prefervation of America constituted a main object of his attention and follicitude; and observed, that the growing dangers to which the British colonies might stand exposed, from late losses in that country, demanded resolutions of vigour and dispatch. He said an adequate and firm defence at home should maintain the chief place in his thoughts; and in this great view he had nothing fo much at heart as to remove all grounds of diffatisfaction from his people: for this end, he recommended to the care and diligence of the parliament the framing of a national militia, planned and regulated with equal regard to the just rights of his crown and people; an institution which might become one good resource in time of general danger. He took notice that the unnatural union of councils abroad, the calamities which, in confequence of this unhappy conjunction, might, by irruptions of foreign armies into the Empire, shake its constitution, overturn its system, and threaten oppression to the protestant interest on the continent, were events which must fensibly affect the minds of the British nation, and had fixed the eyes of Europe on this new and dangerous crisis. He gave them to understand that the body of his electoral troops, which were brought hither at the defire of his parliament, he had now directed to return to his dominions in Germany, relying with pleafure on the spirit and zeal of his people, in defence of his person and He told the Commons that he confided in their wisdom, for preferring more vigorous efforts, though more expensive, to a less effectual, and therefore less frugal plan of war; that he had placed before them the dangers and necessities of the publick; and it was their duty to lay the burthens

BOOK III. 1756. burthens they should judge unavoidable in such a manner as would least disturb and exhaust his people. He exapressed his concern for the sufferings of the poor, arising from the present dearth of corn, and for the disturbances to which it had given rise; and exhorted his parliament to consider of proper provisions for preventing the like mischiefs hereafter. He concluded with remarking, that unprosperous events of war in the Mediterranean had drawn from his subjects signal proofs how dearly they tendered the honour of his crown; therefore they could not, on his part, fail to meet with just returns of unwearied care, and unceasing endeavours for the glory, prosperity, and happiness of his people.

§ XX. The King having retired from the House of Peers, the speech was read by Lord Sandys, appointed to act as speaker to that house; then Earl Gower moved for an address, which, however, was not carried without objection. In one part of it his Majesty was thanked for having caused a body of electoral troops to come into England at the request of his parliament; and this article was difagreeable to those who had difapproved of the request in the last fession. They faid they wished to fee the prefent address unanimously agreed to by the Lords; a fatisfaction they could not have if fuch a paragraph should be inserted: for they still thought the bringing over Hanoverian troops a preposterous measure; because it had not only loaded the nation with an enormous expense, but also furnished the court of France with a plaufible pretence for invading the electorate, which otherwise it would have no shadow of reason to attack; besides, the expedient was held in reprobation by the fubjects in general, and fuch a paragraph might be confidered as an infult on the people. Notwithstanding these exceptions, which did not feem to be very important, the address, including this paragraph, was approved by a great majority.

§ XXI. In the address of the Commons no such paragraph was inserted. As soon as the Speaker had recited

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his Majesty's speech, Mr. C. Townshend proposed the heads of an address, to which the House unanimously agreed; and it was presented accordingly. This necessary form was no fooner discussed, than the House, with a warmth of humanity and benevolence fuitable to fuch an affembly, refolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on that part of his Majesty's speech which related to the dearth of corn that fo much distressed the poorer class of people. A bill was immediately framed, to prohibit, for a time limited, the exportation of corn, malt, meal, flour, bread, bifcuit and flarch; and a refolution unanimously taken to address the Sovereign, that an embargo might be forthwith laid upon all ships laden or to be laden with these commodities to be exported from the ports of Great Britain and Ireland. At the fame time Vice-Admiral Boscawen, from the board of admiralty, informed the house, that the King and the board having been diffatisfied with the conduct of Admiral Byng, in a late action with the French fleet in the Mediterranean, and for the appearance of his not having acted agreeably to his instructions for the relief of Minorca, he was then in cultody of the Marshal of the Admiralty, in order to be tried by a court-martial: that although this was no more than what was usual in like cases, yet as Admiral Byng was then a member of the house, and as his confinement might detain him fome time from his duty there, the board of Admiralty thought it a respect due to the house to inform them of the commitment and detainer of the faid Admiral. This meffage being delivered, the journal of the house in relation to Rear-Admiral Knowles \* was Vol. IV. read.

<sup>\*</sup> Rear-Admiral Knowles being, in the month of December, one thoufand feven hundred and forty-nine, tried at Deptford, before a court-martial, for his behaviour in and relating to an action which happened on the first day of October in the preceding year, between a British squadron under his command, and a squadron of Spain, the court was unanimously of opinion, that the said Knowles, while he was standing for the enemy, might, by a different disposition of his squadron, have begun the attack with six ships as early in the day as sour of them were engaged; and that, therefore, by his neglecting so to do, he gave the enemy a manifest advantage: that the said Knowles

BOOK III. 1756. read, and what Mr. Boscawen now communicated was also inserted.

& XXII. The committees of supply, and of ways and means, being appointed, took into confideration the necessities of the state, and made very ample provision for enabling his Majesty to maintain the war with vigour. They granted fifty-five thousand men for the sea service, including eleven thousand four hundred and nineteen marines; and for the land fervice forty-nine thousand feven hundred and forty-nine effective men, comprehending four thousand and eight invalids. The supply was granted for the maintenance of these forces, as well as for the troops of Hesse and Hanover; for the Ordnance; the levy of new regiments; for affifting his Majesty in forming and maintaining an army of observation, for the just and necessary defence and preservation of his electoral dominions, and those of his allies; and towards enabling him to fulfil his engagements with the King of Prussia; for the security of the Empire against the irruption of foreign\* armies, as well as for the support of the common cause; for building and repairs of ships, hiring transports, payment of half-pay officers, and the pensions of widows; for enabling his Majesty to discharge the like sum, raised

remained on board the ship Cornwall with his slag, after she was disabled from continuing the action, though he might, upon her being disabled, have shifted his slag on board another ship; and the court were unanimously of opinion he ought to have done so, in order to have conducted and directed, during the whole action, the motions of the squadron entrusted to his care and conduct. Upon consideration of the whole conduct of the said Knowles, relating to that action, the court did unanimously agree that he sell under part of the fourteenth article of the articles of war, namely, the word Negligence, and no other; and also under the twenty-third article.—The court, therefore, unanimously adjudged that he should be reprimanded for not bringing up the squadron in closer order than he did, and not beginning the attack with as great force as he might have done; and also for not shifting his slag, upon the Cornwall's being disabled.

Nothing could more gloriously evince the generosity of a British parliament than this interposition for defending the liberties of Germany, in conjunction with two electors only, against the sense of the other seven, and in direct opposition to the measures taken by the head of the Empire, who, in the sequel, stigmatised these two princes as rebels, and treated one of them as an out-law.

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CHAP. 1757.

in pursuance of an act passed in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this fession, for enabling the governors and guardians of the hospital for the maintenance and education of exposed and deserted young children to receive all fuch children, under a certain age, as should be brought to the faid hospital within the compass of one year\*; for maintaining and supporting the new settlement of Nova-Scotia; for repairing and finishing military roads; for making good his Majesty's engagements with the Landgrave of Heffe-Caffel; for the expense of marching, recruiting, and remounting German troops in the pay of Great Britain; for empowering his Majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the fervice of the enfuing year, and to take all fuch measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs should require; for the payment of fuch persons, in such a manner as his Majesty should direct, for the use and relief of his subjects in the several provinces of North and South Carolina and Virginia, in recompense for such services as, with the approbation of his Majesty's commander in chief in America, they respectively had performed, or should perform, either by putting these provinces in a state of defence, or by acting with vigour against the enemy; for enabling the East-India company to defray the expense of a military force in their

\* This charity, established by voluntary contribution, might, under proper restrictions, prove beneficial to the commonwealth, by rescuing deserted children from mifery and death, and qualifying them for being ferviceable members of the community; but fince the liberality of parliament hath enabled the governors and corporation to receive all the children that are presented, without question or limitation, the yearly expense hath swelled into a national grievance, and the humane purposes of the original institution are in a great measure defeated. Instead of an asylum for poor forlorn orphans and abandoned foundlings, it is become a general receptacle for the offspring of the diffolute, who care not to work for the maintenance of their families. The hofpital itself is a plain edifice, well contrived for occonomy and convenience, standing on the north side of the city, and a little detached from it, in an agreeable and falubrious fituation. The hall is adorned with fome good paintings, the chapel is elegant, and the regulations are admirable.

BOOK III. their settlements, to be maintained in them, in lieu of a battalion of his Majesty's forces withdrawn from those forts and factories; for the maintenance and support of the forts on the coast of Africa; for widening the avenues, and rendering more fafe and commodious the streets and passages leading from Charing-cross to the two houses of parliament, the courts of justice, and the new bridge at Westminster\*. Such were the articles under which we may specify the supplies of this year, on the whole amounting to eight millions three hundred fifty thousand three hundred and twenty-five pounds, nine shillings, and threepence. It must be acknowledged, for the honour of the administration, that the House of Commons could not have exhibited stronger marks of their attachment to the crown and person of their sovereign, as well as of their defire to fee the force of the nation exerted with becoming fpirit. The fums granted by the committee of fupply did not exceed eight millions three hundred fifty thousand three hundred twenty-five pounds, nine shillings and three pence; the funds established amounted to eight millions fix hundred eighty-nine thousand fifty-one pounds, nineteen shillings and seven-pence; so that there was an overplus of three hundred thirty-eight thousand seven hundred and twenty-fix pounds, ten shillings and four-pence; an excess which was thought necessary, in case the lottery, which was founded on a new plan, should not succeed.

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§ XXIII. Some of these impositions were deemed grievous hardships by those upon whom they immediately sell; and many friends of their country exclaimed against the projected army of observation in Germany, as the commencement of a ruinous continental war, which it was neither the interest of the nation to undertake, nor in their power to maintain, without starving the operations by sea, and in America, founded on British principles; without contracting

<sup>\*</sup> The bridge at Westminster may be considered as a national ornament. It was built at the public expense, from the neighbourhood of Westminster-Hall to the opposite side of the river, and consists of thirteen arches, confirmed with equal elegance and simplicity.

contracting fuch an additional load of debts and taxes, as could not fail to terminate in bankruptcy and distress. those dependents of the ministry, who observed, that as Hanover was threatened by France for its connexion with Great-Britain, it ought, in common gratitude, to be protected, they replied, that every state, in assisting an ally, ought to have a regard to its own preservation: that if the King of England enjoyed by inheritance, or succession, a province in the heart of France, it would be equally abfurd and unjust, in case of a rupture with that kingdom, to exhauft the treasures of Great-Britain in the defence of such a province; and yet the inhabitants of it would have the fame right to complain that they fuffered for their connexion with England. They observed, that other dominions, electorates, and principalities in Germany were fecured by the constitutions of the Empire, as well as by fair and equal alliances with their co-estates; whereas Hanover stood solitary, like a hunted deer avoided by the herd, and had no other shelter but that of shrinking under the extended shield of Great-Britain: that the reluctance expressed by the German princes to undertake the defence of these dominions flowed from a firm persuasion, founded on experience, that England would interpose as a principal, and not only draw her fword against the enemies of the electorate, but concentrate her chief strength in that object, and waste her treasures in purchasing their concurrence; that, exclusive of an ample revenue drained from the sweat of the people, great part of which had been expended in continental efforts, the whole national debt incurred fince the accession of the late king had been contracted in pursuance of measures totally foreign to the interest of these kingdoms: that, since Hanover was the favourite object, England would fave money, and great quantities of British blood, by allowing France to take possession of the electorate, paying its ranfom at the peace, and indemnifying the inhabitants for the damage they might fustain; an expedient that would be productive of another good consequence; it would rouse the German princes from their affected indifference, and oblige them

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B O O K III. 1757. to exert themselves with vigour, in order to avoid the detested neighbourhood of such an enterprising invader.

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& XXIV. The article of the supply relating to the army of observation took rise from a message signed by his Majesty, and presented by Mr. Pitt, now promoted to the office of principal fecretary of state; a gentleman who had, upon fundry occasions, combated the gigantick plan of continental connexions with all the strength of reason, and all the powers of eloquence. He now imparted to the House an intimation, importing, It was always with reluctance that his Majesty asked extraordinary supplies of his people; but as the united councils, and formidable preparations of France and her allies threatened Europe in general with the most alarming consequences; and as these unjust and vindictive designs were particularly and immediately bent against his Majesty's electoral dominions, and those of his good ally, the King of Prussia, his Majesty confided in the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, that they would chearfully affift him in forming and maintaining an army of observation, for the just and necessary defence and preservation of those territories, and enable him to fulfil his engagements with his Pruffian Majesty, for the security of the Empire against the irruption of foreign armies, and for the support of the common cause. Posterity will hardly believe, that the Emperor and all the princes in Germany were in a conspiracy against their country, except the King of Prussia, the Elector of Hanover, and the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel; and they will, no doubt, be surprised, that Great-Britain, after all the treaties she had made, and the numberless subsidies she had granted, should not have an ally left, except one prince, fo embarraffed in his own affairs, that he could grant her no fuccour, whatever affistance he might demand. The King's meffage met with as favourable a reception as he could have defired. It was read in the House of Commons, together with a copy of the treaty between his Majesty and the King of Prussia, including the secret and separate article, and the declaration signed on each side by the plenipotentiaries at Westminster: the request was granted,

C H A P. VI.

granted, and the convention approved. With equal readiness did they gratify his Majesty's inclination, signified in another message, delivered on the seventeenth day of May, by Lord Bateman, intimating, That, in this critical juncture, emergencies might arise of the utmost importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not be immediately applied to prevent or defeat them; his Majesty was, therefore, defirous that the House would enable him to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the fervice of the current year; and to take all fuch measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs might require. The committee of fupply forthwith granted a very large fum for these purposes, including the charge of German mercenaries. like meffage being at the fame time communicated to the Upper House, their lordships voted a very loyal address upon the occasion; and when the article of supply, which it produced among the Commons, fell under their infpection, they unanimously agreed to it, by way of a clause of appropriation.

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6 XXV. We have already observed, that the first bill which the Commons passed in this session was for the relief of the poor, by prohibiting the exportation of corn; but this remedy not being judged adequate to the evil, another bill was framed, removing, for a limited time, the duty then payable upon foreign corn and flour imported; as also permitting, for a certain term, all such foreign corn, grain, meal, bread, bifcuit, and flour, as had been or should be taken from the enemy, to be landed and expended in the kingdom duty free. In order still more to reduce the high price of corn, and to prevent any supply of provisions from being fent to our enemies in America, a third bill was brought in, prohibiting, for a time therein limited, the exportation of corn, grain, meal, malt, flour, bread, bifcuit, starch, beef, pork, bacon, or other victual, from any of the British plantations, unless to Great-Britain or Ireland, or from one colony to another. To this act two claufes

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B O O K III. clauses were added, for allowing those necessaries, mentioned above, to be imported in foreign built ships, and from any state in amity with his Majesty, either into Great-Britain or Ireland; and for exporting from Southampton or Exeter to the Isle of Man, for the use of the inhabitants, a quantity of wheat, barley, oats, meal, or flour, not exceeding two thousand five hundred quarters. The Commons would have still improved their humanity, had they contrived and established some effectual method to punish those unfeeling villains, who, by engrossing and hoarding up great quantities of grain, had created this artificial fcarcity, and deprived their fellow creatures of bread, with a view to their own private advantage. Upon a subsequent report of the committee, the House resolved, that, to prevent the high price of wheat and bread, no spirits should be distilled from wheat for a limited time. While the bill, formed on this refolution, was in embryo, a petition was presented to the House by the brewers of London, Westminster, Southwark, and parts adjacent, representing, that, when the resolution passed, the price of malt, which was before too high, immediately rose to fuch a degree, that the petitioners found themselves utterly incapable of carrying on bufiness at the price malt then bore, occasioned, as they conceived, from an apprehension of the necessity the distillers would be under to make use of the best pale malt, and substitute the best barley in lieu of wheat: that, in such a case, the markets would not be able to supply a sufficient quantity of barley for the demands of both professions, besides other necessary uses; they, therefore, prayed, that, in regard to the publick revenue, to which the trade of the petitioners fo largely contributed, proper measures might be taken for preventing the public lofs, and relieving their particular diffrefs. The House would not lend a deaf ear to a remonstrance in which the revenue was concerned. The members appointed to prepare the bill immediately received instructions to make provision in it to restrain, for a limited time, the distilling of barley, malt, and all grain whatsoever. The bill was framed accordingly, but did not pass without strenuous

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strenuous opposition. To this prohibition it was objected, that there are always large quantities of wheat and barley in the kingdom so much damaged, as to be unfit for any use but the distillery, consequently a restriction of this nature would ruin many farmers, and others employed in the trade of malting. Particular interests, however, must often be facrificed to the welfare of the community; and the present distress prevailed over the prospect of this disadvantage. If they had allowed any fort of grain to be distilled, it would have been impossible to prevent the difilling of every kind. The prohibition was limited to two months; but at the expiration of that term, the carcity still continuing, it was protracted by a new bill to the eleventh day of December, with a proviso, empowering his Majesty to put an end to it at any time after the eleventh day of May, if such a step should be judged for the advantage of the kingdom.

§ XXVI. The next bill that engaged the attention of the Commons was a measure of the utmost national importance, though fecretly difliked by many individuals of the legislature, who nevertheless did not venture to avow their disapprobation. The establishment of a militia was a very popular and defirable object, but attended with numberless difficulties, and a competition of interests which it was impossible to reconcile. It had formerly been an inexhaustible source of contention between the crown and the Commons; but now both apparently concurred in rendering it serviceable to the commonwealth; though ome acquiesced in the scheme, who were not at all hearty in its favour. On the fourth day of December, a motion was made for the bill, by Colonel George Townshend, eldest son of Lord Viscount Townshend, a gentleman of courage, sense, and probity; endued with penetration to discern, and honesty to pursue the real interest of his counry, in defiance of power, in contempt of private advanages. Leave being given to bring in a bill for the better ordering of the militia forces in the feveral counties of England, the task of preparing it was allotted to Mr.

CHAP. 1757-

Townshend,

BOOK 1757.

Townshend, and a considerable number of the most able members in the House, comprehending his own brother, Mr. Charles Townshend, whose genius shone with diftinguished luftre: he was keen, discerning, eloquent, and accurate; possessed a remarkable vivacity of parts, with a furprifing folidity of understanding; was a wit without arrogance, a patriot without prejudice, and a courtier without dependance.

6 XXVII. While the militia bill remained under confideration of the House, a petition for a constitutional and well regulated militia was prefented by the mayor, jurats, and commonalty of the King's town and parish of Maidstone, in Kent, in common-council assembled. fame time remonstrances were offered by the protestant diffenting ministers of the three denominations in and about the cities of London and Westminster; by the protestant diffenters of Shrewsbury; the diffenting ministers of Devonshire; the protestant diffenters, being freeholders and burgeffes of the town, and county of the town of Nottingham, joined with other inhabitants of the church of England, expressing their apprehension, that, in the bill then depending, it might be proposed to enact, that the said militia should be exercised on the Lord's day, commonly called Sunday, and praying that no clause for such purpose might pass into a law. Though nothing could be more ridiculously fanatic and impertinent than the declaration of fuch a scruple against a practice so laudable and necessary, in a country where that day of the week is generally spent in merry-making, riot, and debauchery, the House paid so much regard to the squeamish consciences of those puritanical petitioners, that Monday was pitched upon for the day of exercise to the militia, though on such working days they might be much more profitably employed, both for themselves and their country; and that no religious pretence should be left for opposing the progress and execution of the bill, proper clauses were inserted for the relief of the quakers. Another petition and counterpetition were delivered by the magistrates, freeholders, and

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burgesses of the town of Nottingham, in relation to their CHAP. particular franchifes, which were accordingly confidered in framing the bill.

1757.

6 XXVIII. After mature deliberation, and divers alterations, it passed the Lower-House, and was sent to the Lords for their concurrence: here it underwent feveral amendments, one of which was the reduction of the number of militia-men to one half of what the Commons had proposed; namely, to thirty-two thousand three hundred and forty-men for the whole kingdom of England and The amendments being canvaffed in the Lower House, met with some opposition, and divers conferences with their lordships ensued: at length, however, the two Houses agreed to every article, and the bill soon received the royal fanction. No provision, however, was made for clothes, arms, accoutrements, and pay: had regulations been made for these purposes, the act would have become money-bill, in which the Lords could have made no amendment: in order, therefore, to prevent any difference between the two Houses, on a dispute of privileges not yet determined, and that the House of Peers might make what amendments they should think expedient, the Commons left the expense of the militia to be regulated in a subsequent bill, during the following session, when they could with more certainty compute what fum would be necessary for these purposes. After all, the bill seemed to be crude, imperfect and ineffectual, and the promoters of it were well aware of its defects; but they were apprehenfive that it would have been dropped altogether, had they infifted upon the scheme's being executed in its full They were eager to seife this opportunity of trying an experiment, which might afterwards be improved to a greater national advantage; and, therefore, they acquiesced in many restrictions and alterations, which otherwise would not have been adopted.

§ XXIX. The next measure that fell under the confideration of the House was rendered necessary by the inhospitable perseverance of the publicans and inn-holders,

who

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who conceived themselves not obliged by law to receive or give quarters in their houses to any foreign troops, and accordingly refused admittance to the Hessian auxiliaries, who began to be dreadfully incommoded by the feverity of the weather. This objection implying an attack upon the prerogative, the government did not think fit, at this juncture, to dispute any other way, than by procuring a new law in favour of those foreigners. It was intituled, "A bill to make provision for quartering the foreign "troops now in this kingdom," prepared by Lord Barrington, the Chancellor of the Exchequer, and the Sollicitor-General, and immediately passed without opposition. This step being taken, another bill was brought in, for the regulation of the marine-forces while on shore. This was almost a transcript of the mutiny act, with this material difference: it empowered the Admiralty to grant commissions for holding general courts-martial, and to do every thing, and in the fame manner, as his Majesty is empowered to do by the usual mutiny-bill; consequently, every clause was adopted without question.

§ XXX. The same favourable reception was given to a bill for the more speedy and effectual recruiting his Majefty's land forces and marines; a law which threw into the hands of many worthless magistrates an additional power of oppressing their fellow creatures: all justices of the peace, commissioners for the land-tax, magistrates of corporations and boroughs, were empowered to meet by direction of the Secretary at War, communicated in precepts iffued by the high sheriffs, or their deputies, within their respective divisions, and at their usual place of meeting, to qualify themselves for the execution of the act: then they were required to appoint the times and places for their fucceeding meetings; to issue precepts to the proper officers for these fucceeding meetings; and to give notice of the time and place of every meeting to fuch military officer, as, by notice from the Secretary at War, should be directed to attend that fervice. The annual bill for preventing mutiny and defertion

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desertion met with no objections, and indeed contained CHAP. nothing effentially different from that which had paffed in the last session. The next law enacted was for further preventing embezzlement of goods and apparel by those with whom they are entrusted, and putting a stop to the practice of gaming in publick houses. By this bill a penalty was inflicted on pawnbrokers, in a fummary way, for receiving goods, knowing them not to be the property of the pledger, and pawned without the authority of the owner\*. With respect to gaming, the act ordained, that all publicans fuffering journeymen, labourers, servants, or apprentices to came with cards, dice, shuffle-boards, mississippi, or billiard bles, skittles, nine-pins, &c. should forfeit forty shillings for the first offence, and for every subsequent offence ten counds shall be levied by distress.

6 XXXI. Divers inconveniencies having refulted from the interpolition of justices, who, in pursuance of an act of parliament passed in the present reign, assumed the right of establishing rates for the payment of wages to weavers, everal petitions were offered to the House of Commons. representing the evil consequences of such an establishment; and although these arguments were answered and opposed in counter-petitions, the Commons, actuated by laudable concern for the interest of the woollen manufacture,

\* It was enacted, that perfons pawning, exchanging, or difpoling of goods, ithout leave of the owner, should suffer in the penalty of twenty shillings; and, on non-payment, be committed for fourteen days to hard labour; afterwards, if the money could not then be paid, to be whipped publickly in the house f correction, or fuch other place as the justice of the peace should appoint, on publication of the profecutor: that every pawnbroker should make entry f the person's name and place of abode who pledges any goods with him; and the pledger, if he required it, should have a duplicate of that entry: that a awnbroker, receiving linen or apparel entrusted to others to be washed mended, should forfeit double the sum lent upon it, and restore the goods: hat upon oath of any person whose goods are unlawfully pawned or exchanged, hejustice should issue a warrant to search the suspected person's house; and spon refusal of admittance the officer might break open the door: that goods awned for any fum not exceeding ten pounds might be recovered within two ears, the owner making oath of the pawning, and tendering the principal, sterest, and charges: that goods remaining unredeemed for two years should e forfeited and fold, the overplus to be accounted for to the owner on demand.

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BOOK facture, after due deliberation, removed the grievance by a new bill, repealing so much of the former act as empower. ed justices of the peace to make rates for the payment of wages\*.—The Commons were not more forward to provide supplies for profecuting the war with vigour, than ready to adopt new regulations for the advantage of trade and manufactures. The fociety of the free British fishery prefented a petition, alledging, that they had employed the fum of one hundred thirty thousand three hundred and five pounds, eight shillings, and fix-pence, together with the entire produce of their fish, and all the monies arising from the feveral branches allowed on the tonnage of their shipping, and on the exportation of their fish, in carrying on the faid fishery; and that, from their being obliged, in the infancy of the undertaking, to incur a much larger expense than was at that time foreseen, they now found themselves fo far reduced in their capital, as to be utterly incapable of further profecuting the fisheries with any hope of fuccess unless indulged with the further affistance of parliament They prayed, therefore, that, towards enabling them to carry on the faid fisheries, they might have liberty to make use of such nets as they should find best adapted to the said fisheries; each buss, nevertheless, carrying to sea the same quantity and depth of netting, which, by the fishery acts they were then bound to carry: that the bounty of thirt shillings per ton, allowed by the said acts on the vessels employed in the fishery, might be increased; and for as much as many of the flock-proprietors were unable to advance any further fum for profecuting this branch of commerce and others unwilling, in the prefent fituation, and under

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<sup>\*</sup> It likewise imported, that all contracts or agreements made between clothiers and weavers, in respect to wages, should, from and after the first May, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, be valid, not withstanding any rate established, or to be established, but that these con tracts or agreements should extend only to the actual prices or rates of work manship or wages, and not the payment thereof in any other manner than money: and that if any clothier should refuse or neglect to pay the weaverth wages or price agreed on, in money, within two days after the work should performed and delivered, the fame being demanded, should forfeit for shillings for every such offence.

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the present restraints, to risque any further sum in the CHAP. undertaking, that the stock of the society, by the said acts made unalienable, except in case of death or bankruptcy, for a term of years, might forthwith be made transferable; and that the petitioners might be at liberty, between the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ the busses in such manner as they should find for the advantage of the ociety. While the committee was employed in deliberating on the particulars of this remonstrance, another was delivered from the free British fishery-chamber of Whitehaven in Cumberland, representing, that as the law then food, they went to Shetland, and returned at a great expense and loss of time; and while the war continued durst not flay there to fish, besides being obliged to run the most mminent rifques, by going and returning without convoy: that, ever fince the institution of the present fishery, experience had fully shown the fishery of Shetland not worth ollowing, as thereby the petitioners had loft two months of a much better fishery in St. George's channel, within one day's fale of Whitehaven: they took notice, that the free British fishery society had applied to the House for further affistance and relief; and prayed that Campbeltown, in Argyleshire, might be appointed the place of rendezvous for the buffes belonging to Whitehaven, for the fummer as well as the winter fishery, that they might be enabled to fish with greater advantage. The committee, having considered the matter of both petitions, were of opinion that the petitioners should be at liberty to use fuch nets as they should find best adapted to the white herring fishery: that the bounty of thirty shillings per ton should be augmented to fifty: that the petitioners should be allowed, during the intervals of the fishing seasons, to employ their vessels in any other lawful business, provided they should have been employed in the herring-fishery during the proper feafons: that they might use such barrels for packing the fish as they then used, or might thereafter find best adapted for that purpose: that they should have liberty to make use of any waste or uncultivated land, one hundred

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B O O K III. yards at the least above high-water mark, for the purpose of drying their nets; and that Campbel-town would be the most proper and convenient place for the rendezvous of the busses belonging to Whitehaven. This last resolution, however, was not inferted in the bill which contained the other five, and in a little time received the royal affent.

§ XXXII. Such are the connexions, dependencies, and relations subsisting between the mechanical arts, agriculture, and manufactures of Great-Britain, that it requires study, deliberation, and enquiry in the legislature to discern and diffinguish the whole scope and consequences of many projects offered for the benefit of the commonwealth. The fociety of merchant adventurers in the city of Bristol alledged, in a petition to the House of Commons, that great quantities of bar iron were imported into Great-Britain from Sweden, Russia, and other parts, chiefly purchased with ready money, some of which iron was exported again to Africa and other places; and the rest wrought up by the manufacturers. They affirmed that bar iron, imported from North-America, would answer the same purposes; and the importation of it tend not only to the great advantage of the kingdom, by increasing its shipping and navigation; but also to the benefit of the British colonies: that, by an act passed in the twenty-third year of his present Majesty's reign, the importation of bar iron from America into the port of London, duty free, was permitted: but its being carried coastways, or farther by land than ten miles, had been prohibited; so that several very considerable manufacturing towns were deprived of the use of American iron, and the out-ports prevented from employing it in their export commerce: they requested, therefore, that bar iron might be imported from North-America into Great-Britain duty free, by all his Majesty's subjects. This request being re-enforced by many other petitions from different parts of the kingdom, other classes of men, who thought their feveral interests would be affected by such a measure, took the alarm; and in divers counter petitions specified many in confequences which they alledged would arife from it

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being enacted into a law. Pamphlets were published on both fides of the question, and violent disputes were kindled upon this fubject, which was justly deemed a matter of national importance. The opposers of the bill observed, that large quantities of iron were yearly produced at home, and employed multitudes of poor people, there being no less than one hundred and nine forges in England and Wales, befides those erected in Scotland, the whole producing eighteen thousand tons of iron: that as the mines in Great Britain are inexhaustible, the produce would of late years have been confiderably increased, had not the people been kept under continual apprehension of seeing American iron admitted duty free: a supposition which had prevented the traders from extending their works, and discouraged many from engaging in this branch of traffick: they alledged that the iron works already carried on in England occasioned a consumption of one hundred and ninetyeight thousand cords of wood, produced in coppices that grow upon barren lands, which could not otherwise be turned to any good account: that as the coppices afford hade, and preferve a moisture in the ground, the pasture is more valuable with the wood than it would be if the coppices were grubbed up; consequently all the estates where these now grow would fink in their yearly value: that these coppices, now cultivated and preserved for the use of the iron works, are likewise absolutely necessary for the manufacture of leather, as they furnish bark for the tanners; and that, according to the management of these coppices, they produced a great number of timber trees, so necessary for the purposes of building. They afferted that neither the American iron, nor any that had yet been found in Great Britain, was so proper for converting into steel as that which comes from Sweden, particularly that fort called ore ground; but as there are mines in the northern parts of Britain, nearly in the same latitude with those of Sweden, furnished with sufficient quantities of wood, and rivers for mills and engines, it was hardly to be doubted but that people would find metal of the fame quality, and, in a few Vol. IV. years, BOOK III. 1757. years, be able to prevent the necessity of importing iron either from Sweden or Russia. They inferred that American iron could never interfere with that which Great Britain imported from Sweden, because it was not fit for edge-tools, anchors, chain-plates, and other particulars necessary in ship-building; nor diminish the importation of Russian iron, which was not only harder than the American and British, but also could be afforded cheaper than that brought from our own plantations, even though the duty of this last should be removed. The importation of American iron, therefore, duty free, could interfere with no other fort but that produced in Britain, with which, by means of this advantage, it would clash so much, as to put a stop in a little time to all the iron works now carried on in the kingdom, and reduce to beggary a great number of families whom they support. To these objections the favourers of the bill follicited replied, that when a manufacture is much more valuable than the rough materials, and these cannot be produced at home in sufficient quantities, and at fuch a price as is confistent with the prefervation of the manufacture, it is the interest of the legiflature to admit a free importation of these materials, even from foreign countries, although it should put an end to the production of that material in this island: that as the neighbours of Great Britain are now more attentive than ever to their commercial interests, and endeavouring to manufacture their rough materials at home, this nation must take every method for lowering the price of materials, otherwise in a few years it will lose the manufacture; and, instead of supplying other countries, be furnished by them with all the fine toys and utenfils made of feel and iron: that being in danger of losing not only the mauufacture but the produce of iron, unless it can be procured at a cheaper rate than that for which it is fold at prefent, the only way of attaining this end, is by diminishing the duty payable upon the importation of foreign iron, or by rendering it necessary for the undertakers of the iron mines in Great Britain to fell their produce cheaper than it has been

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for some years afforded: that the most effectual method for this purpose is to raise up a rival, by permitting a free importation of all forts of iron from the American plantations: that American iron can never be sold so cheap as that of

kinds is much dearer than in England: if a man employs his own flaves, he must reckon in his charge a great deal more than the common interest of their purchase money, because when one of them dies, or escapes from his master, he loses both interest and principal: that the common interest of money in the plantations is considerably higher than in England, consequently no man in that country

Britain can be afforded; for, in the colonies, labour of all

will employ his money in any branch of trade by which he cannot gain confiderably more per cent. than is expected in Great Britain, where the interest is low, and profit moderate; a circumstance which will always give a great advantage to the British miner, who likewise enjoys an ex-

emption from freight and infurance, which lie heavy upon the American adventurer, especially in time of war. With respect to the apprehension of the leather tanners, they

observed, that as the coppices generally grew on barren lands, not fit for tillage, and improved the pasturage, no proprietor would be at the expense of grubbing up the

wood to spoil the pasture, as he could make no other use of the land on which it was produced. The wood must be always worth something, especially in counties where

there is not plenty of coal, and the timber trees would produce confiderable advantage: therefore, if there was not one iron mine in Great Britain, no coppies would be

grubbed up, unless it grew on a rich soil, which would produce corn instead of cord wood; consequently, the tanners have nothing to fear, especially as planting hath become a

prevailing taste among the landholders of the island. The committee appointed to prepare the bill seriously weighed and canvassed these arguments, examined disputed facts,

and inspected papers and accounts relating to the produce, importation, and manufactory of iron. At length Mr.

John Pitt reported to the House their opinion, implying

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that the liberty granted by an act passed in the twentythird year of his Majesty's reign, of importing bar-iron from the British colonies in America into the port of London, should be extended to all the other ports of Great Britain; and that so much of that act as related to this clause should be repealed. The House having agreed to these resolutions, and the bill being brought in accordingly, another petition was presented by several noblemen, gentlemen, freeholders, and other proprietors, owners and possessions of coppices and woodlands, in the west-riding of Yorkshire, alledging that a permission to import American bar-iron duty free would be attended with numberless ill consequences both of a public and private nature; specifying certain hardships to which they in particular would be exposed; and praying, that if the bill should pass they might be relieved from the pressure of an act passed in the reign of Henry VIII. obliging the owners of coppice-woods to preserve them, under severe penalties; and be permitted to fell and grub up their coppice-woods, in order to a more proper cultivation of the foil, without being restrained by the fear of malicious and interested profecutions. In confequence of this remonstrance, a clause was added to the bill, repealing so much of the act of Henry the Eighth as prohibited the conversion of coppice or underwoods into pasture or tillage; then it passed through both Houses, and received the royal fanction. As there was not time, after this affair came upon the carpet, to obtain any new accounts from America, and as it was thought necessary to know the quantities of iron made in that country, the House presented an address to his Majesty, desiring he would be pleased to give directions that there should be laid before them, in the next session of parliament, an account of the quantity of iron made in the American colonies, from Christmas, in the year one thousand seven hundred and forty-nine, to the fifth day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-fix, each year being distinguished.

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6 XXXIII. From this important object, the parliament C H A P. converted its attention to a regulation of a much more private nature. In consequence of a petition by the lordmayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, a bill was brought in, and paffed into a law without opposition, for the more effectual preservation and improvement of the fry and spawn of fish in the river Thames and waters of Medway, and for the better regulating the fishery in those rivers. The two next measures taken for the benefit of the publick were, first, a bill to render more effectual the several laws then in being, for the amendment and prefervation of the highways and turnpike roads of the kingdom; the other for the more effectually preventing the spreading of the contagious distemper which at that time raged among the horned cattle. A third arose from the distress of poor filk manufacturers, who were destitute of employment, and deprived of all means of fublifting, through the interruption of the Levant trade, occasioned by the war, and the delay of the merchant ships from Italy. In order to remedy this inconvenience, a bill was prepared, enacting that any persons might import from any place, in any ship or vessel whatsoever, till the first day of December, one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, organzine thrown filk of the growth or production of Italy, to be brought to the Custom-House of London, wheresoever landed: but that no Italian thrown filk, coarfer than Bologna, nor any tram of the growth of Italy; nor any other thrown filk of the growth or production of Turkey, Persia, East-India, or China, should be imported by this act, under the penalty of the forfeiture thereof. Notwithstanding several petitions presented by the merchants, owners, and commanders of ships, and others trading to Leghorn, and other ports of Italy; as well as by the importers and manufacturers of raw filks, representing the evil confequences that would probably attend the paffing of such a bill, the parliament agreed to this temporary deviation from the famous act of navigation, for a preient supply to the poor manufacturers.

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of XXXIV. The next civil regulation established in this fession of parliament was in itself judicious, and, had it been more eagerly fuggested, might have been much more beneficial to the publick. In order to discourage the practice of fmuggling, and prevent the desperadoes concerned therein from inlifting in the fervice of the enemy, a law was passed, enacting, that every person who had been, before the first of May in the present year, guilty of illegal running, concealing, receiving, or carrying any wool, or prohibited goods, or any foreign commodities liable to duties, the fame not having being paid or fecured; or of aiding therein, or had been found with fire-arms or weapons, in order to be aiding to fuch offenders; or had been guilty of receiving fuch goods after feifure; or of any act whatfoever, whereby perfons might be deemed runners of foreign goods; or of hindering, wounding, or beating any officer in the execution of his duty, or affifting therein, should be indemnified from all such offences, concerning which no fuit should then have been commenced, or composition made, on condition that he should, before being apprehended or profecuted, and before the first day of December, enter himself with some commissioned officer of his Majesty's fleet, to serve as a common failor; and should, for three years from such entry, unless sooner duely discharged, actually serve and do duty in that station, and register his name, &c. with the clerk of the peace of the county where he resided, as the act prescribes. attempt was made in favour of the feamen employed in the navy, who had been very irregularly paid, and fubject to grievous hardships in consequence of this irregularity. Mr. Grenville, brother to Earl Temple, moved for leave to bring in a bill for the encouragement of feamen employed in his Majesty's navy, and for establishing a regular method for the punctual, fpeedy, and certain payment of their wages, as well as for refcuing them from the arts of fraud and imposition. The proposal was corroborated by divers petitions: the bill was prepared, read, printed, and, after it had undergone some amendment, passed into the House

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House of Lords, where it was encountered with several objections, and dropped for this session of parliament.

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& XXXV. The House of Commons being desirous of preventing for the future fuch diffresses as the poor had lately undergone, appointed a committee to confider of proper provisions to restrain the price of corn and bread within due bounds for the future. For this purpose they were empowered to fend for persons, papers, and records, and it was refolved that all who attended the committee should have voices. Having enquired into the causes of the late scarcity, they agreed to several resolutions, and a bill was brought in, to explain and amend the laws against regrators, forestallers, and engroffers of corn. The committee also received instructions to enquire into the abuses of millers, mealmen, and bakers, with regard to bread, and to confider of proper methods to prevent them in the fequel, but no further progress was made in this important affair, which was the more interesting, as the lives of individuals, in a great measure, depended upon a speedy reformation; for the millers and bakers were faid to have adulterated their flour with common whiting, lime, boneashes, allum, and other ingredients pernicious to the human constitution; a consummation of villainy for which no adequate punishment could be inflicted. Among the measures proposed in parliament which did not succeed, one of the most remarkable was a bill prepared by Mr. Rofe Fuller, Mr. Charles Townshend, and Mr. Banks, to explain, amend, and render more effectual a law paffed in the reign of King William the Third, intituled, "An " act to punish governors of plantations, in this kingdom, " for crimes committed by them in the plantations." This bill was proposed in consequence of some complaints, specifying acts of cruelty, folly, and oppression, by which fome British governors had been lately distinguished; but before the bill could be brought in the parliament was prorogued.

§ XXXVI. But no step taken by the House of Commons, in the course of this session, was more interesting to the

body

BOOK III.

body of the people than the enquiry into the loss of Minorca, which had excited fuch loud and universal clamour. By addresses to the King, unanimously voted, the Commons requested that his Majesty would give directions for laying before them copies of all the letters and papers containing any intelligence received by the fecretaries of flate, the commissioners of the Admiralty, or any others of his Majesty's ministers, in relation to the equipment of the French fleet at Toulon, or the designs of the French on Minorca, or any other of his Majesty's possessions in Europe, fince the first day of January, in the year one thoufand feven hundred and fifty-five, to the first day of August, 1756. They likewise defired to peruse a list of the ships of war that were equipped and made ready for sea, from the first of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, to the thirtieth day of April, in the following year; with the copies of all failing orders fent to the commanders during that period; as also the state and condition of his Majesty's ships in the several ports of Great-Britain at the time of Admiral Byng's departure, with the fquadron under his command, for the relief of Fort St. Philip, during the period of time above-mentioned, according to the monthly returns made to the Admiralty, with the number of feamen mustered and bor'n on board the refpective ships. They demanded copies of all orders and instructions given to that admiral, and of letters written to and received from him, during his continuance in that command, either by the fecretaries of state, or lords of the Admiralty, relating to the condition of his fquadron, and to the execution of his orders. In a word, they required the infpection of all papers which could, in any manner, tend to explain the loss of Minorca, and the miscarriage of Mr. Byng's fquadron. His Majesty complied with every article of their requests: the papers were presented to the House, ordered to lie upon the table for the perusal of the members, and finally referred to the confideration of a committee of the whole House. In the course of their deliberations they addressed his Majesty for more informa-

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ion, till at length the truth feemed to be fmothered under such an enormous burthen of papers as the efforts of a whole fession could not have properly removed. Indeed, many difcerning persons without doors began to despair of seeing the mystery unfolded, as soon as the enquiry was undertaken by a committee of the whole House. They observed, that an affair of such a dark, intricate, and sufpicious nature ought to have been referred to a felect and fecret committee, chosen by ballot, empowered to send for persons, papers, and records, and to examine witnesses in the most folemn and deliberate manner: that the names of the committee ought to have been published, for the fatisfaction of the people, who could have judged with fome certainty whether the enquiry would be carried on with fuch impartiality as the national misfortune required. They suspected that this reference to a committee of the whole House was a m-l contrivance, to prevent a regular and minute investigation, to introduce confusion and contest, to puzzle, perplex, and obumbrate; to tease, fatigue, and difgust the enquirers, that the examination might be hurried over in a superficial and perfunctory manner; and the ministry, from this anarchy and confusion of materials, half explored and undigefted, derive a general parliamentary approbation, to which they might appeal from the accufations of the people. A felect committee would have probably examined fome of the clerks of the respective offices, that they might certainly know whether any letters or papers had been suppressed, whether the extracts had been faithfully made, and whether there might not be papers of intelligence, which, though proper to be fubmitted to a felect and fecret committee, could not, con-Istently with the honour of the nation, be communicated to a committee of the whole house. Indeed, it does not appear that the ministers had any foreign intelligence or correspondence that could be much depended upon in any natter of national importance, and no evidence was examined on this occasion; a circumstance the less to be reretted, as in times past evil ministers have generally found

CH AP. VI. 1757. BOOK III. means to render fuch enquiries ineffectual; and the fame arts would, at any rate, have operated with the same eff. cacy, had a fecret committee been employed at this junc. ture. Be that as it may, feveral refolutions were reported from the committee, though some of them were not car. ried by the majority without violent dispute and severe al. tercation. The first and last of their resolutions require particular notice. By the former, it appeared to the committee, that his Majesty, from the twenty-seventh day of August, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty. five, to the twentieth day of April in the succeeding year, received fuch repeated and concurrent intelligence, as gave just reason to believe that the French King intended to invade his dominions of Great Britain or Ireland. In the latter they declared their opinion, that no greater number of ships of war could be sent into the Mediterranean than were actually fent thither under the command of Admiral Byng; nor any greater re-enforcement than the regiment which was fent, and the detachment, equal to a battalion, which was ordered to the relief of Fort St. Philip, confiltently with the state of the navy, and the various services effential to the fafety of his Majesty's dominions, and the interests of his subjects. It must have been something more powerful than ordinary conviction that fuggested these Whatever reports might have been circulated by the French ministry, in order to amuse, intimidate, and detach the attention of the English government from America and the Mediterranean, where they really intended to exert themselves, yet the circumstances of the two na tions being confidered, one would think there could have been no just grounds to fear an invasion of Great-Britain or Ireland, especially when other intelligence seemed to point out much more probable scenes of action. last resolution is still more incomprehensible to those who know not exactly the basis on which it was raised. number of ships of war in actual commission amounted to two hundred and fifty, having on board fifty-thousand feamen and marines. Intelligence and repeated information of the French defign upon Minorca had been con-

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veyed to the ministry of England, about fix months before was put in execution. Is it credible, that in all this time the nation could not equip or spare above eleven ships of the line and fix frigates, to fave the important island of Minorca? Is it eafy to conceive, that from a standing army of fifty thousand men one regiment of troops could not have been detached to re-enforce a garrifon, well known to be infufficient for the works it was destined to defend? To persons of common intellects it appeared, that intelligence of the armament at Toulon was conveyed to the Admiralty as early as the month of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-five, with express notice that it would confift of twelve ships of the line; that the defign against Minorca was communicated as early as the twenty-seventh day of August, by Consul Banks, of Carthagena; confirmed by letters from Conful Berttes, at Genoa, dated on the seventeenth and twenty-fixth of Jamuary, and received by Mr. Fox, fecretary of state, on the fourth and eleventh of February, as well as by many subsequent intimations; that, notwithstanding these repeated advices, even after hostilities had commenced in Europe, when the garrison of Minorca amounted to no more than four incomplete regiments, and one company of artillery, forty-two officers being abfent, and the place otherwife unprovided for a fiege, when the Mediterranean fquadron, commanded by Mr. Edgecumbe, confifted of two Thips of the line, and five frigates; neither stores, ammunition, or provision, the absent officers belonging to the garrison, recruits for the regiments, though ready raised, miners, nor any additional troops, were fent to the island, nor the squadron augmented, till Admiral Byng sailed from Spithead on the 6th day of April, with no more hips of the line than, by the most early and authentick intelligence, the government were informed would fail from Toulon, even when Mr. Byng should have been omed by Commodore Edgecumbe; a junction upon which no dependence ought to have been laid; that this squadron contained no troops but fuch as belonged to the four regiments

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regiments in garrison, except one battalion to serve in the fleet as marines, unless we include the order for another to be embarked at Gibraltar, which order was neither obeyed nor understood: that, considering the danger to which Minorca was exposed, and the forwardness of the enemy's preparations at Toulon, Admiral Ofborne, with thirteen ships of the line and one frigate, who returned on the fixteenth of February, after having convoyed a fleet of merchant-ships, might have been detached to Minorca, without hazarding the coast of Great-Britain; for at that time, exclusive of this fquadron, there were eight ships of the line and thirty-two frigates ready manned, and thirtytwo ships of the line and five frigates almost equipped: that Admiral Hawke was fent with fourteen ships of the line and one frigate to cruife in the bay of Bifcay, after repeated intelligence had been received that the French fleet had failed for the West-Indies, and the eleven ships remaining at Brest and Rochefort were in want of hands and cannon, so that they could never serve to cover any embarkation or descent, consequently Mr. Hawke's squadron might have been spared for the relief of Minorca: that, instead of attending to this important object, the Admiralty, on the eighth day of March, fent two ships of the line and three frigates to intercept a coasting convoy off Cape Barfleur: on the eleventh of the same month they detached two ships of the line to the West-Indies, and on the nineteenth two more to North-America, where they could be of little immediate service; on the twenty-third two of the line and three frigates a convoy-hunting off Cherbourg; and on the first of April five ships of the line, including three returned from this last service, to re-enforce Sir Edward Hawke, already too strong for the French fleet bound to Canada: that all these ships might have been added to Mr. Byng's fquadron, without expofing Great-Britain or Ireland to any hazard of invasion: that at length Mr. Byng was detached with ten great ships only, and even denied a frigate to repeat fignals, for which he petitioned; although at that very time there were in port, exclusive of

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his squadron, seventeen ships of the line and thirteen friates ready for sea, besides eleven of the line and ninecen frigates almost equipped. From these and other ircumstances, particularised and urged with great vivacity, many individuals inferred, that a greater number of ships night have been detached to the Mediterranean than were stually sent with Admiral Byng: that the not sending mearlier and stronger force was one great cause of Minorca's being lost, and co-operated with the delay of the ninistry in sending thither re-enforcements of troops, their neglect in suffering the officers of the garrison to continue been from their duty, and their omitting to give orders or raising miners to serve in the fortress of Mahon.

**§XXXVII.** The next enquiry in which the House of commons engaged related to the contracts for victualling he forces in America, which were supposed by some pariots to be fraudulent and unconscionable. This suspiion arose from an ambiguous expression, on which the contractor being interrogated by the committee appointed o examine the particulars, he prudently interpreted it in uch a manner as to screen himself from the resentment of the legislature. The House, therefore, resolved that the contract entered into on the twenty-fixth day of March, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-six, by the commissioners of the Treasury, with William Baker, Christopher Kilby, and Richard Baker, of London, merchants, for furnishing provisions to the forces under the command of the Earl of Loudoun, was prudent and neceflary, and properly adapted to the securing a constant and effectual supply for those forces in America.

§XXXVIII. The preceding fession an address had been presented to the King by the House of Commons, desiring his Majesty would give orders for laying before them several papers relating to disputes which had lately happened between his Excellency Charles Knowles, Esq. and some of the principal inhabitants of the island of Jamaica. This governor was accused of many illegal, cruel, and arbitrary acts, during the course of his arbitration: but these

imputations

C H A P. VI. BOOK III.

imputations he incurred by an exertion of power which was in itself laudable, and well intended for the commer. cial interest of the island. This was his changing the seat of government, and procuring an act of affembly for re. moving the feveral laws, records, books, papers, and writings belonging to feveral offices in that island, from Spanish-town to Kingston; and for obliging the several offcers, to keep their offices, and hold a supreme court of judicature, at this last place, to which he had moved the feat of government. Spanish-town, otherwise called St. Jago de la Vega, the old capital, was an inconfiderable inland place, of no fecurity, trade, or importance; whereas, Kingston was the centre of commerce, situated on the side of a fine harbour filled with ships, well fecured from the infults of an enemy, large, wealthy, and flourishing Here the merchants dwell, and ship the greatest part of the fugars that grow upon the island. They found it extremely inconvenient and expensive to take out their clearances at Spanish-town, which stands at a considerable distance, and the same inconvenience and expense being felt by the rest of the inhabitants, who had occasion to profecute fuits at law, or attend the affembly of the island, they joined in representations to the governor, requesting that, in consideration of these inconveniencies, added to that of the weakness of Spanish-town and the importance of Kingston, the seat of government might be removed. He complied with their request, and in so doing entailed upon himself the hatred and resentment of certain powerful planters, who possessed estates in and about the old town of St. Jago de la Vega, thus deserted. feems to have been the real fource of the animofity and clamour incurred by Mr. Knowles, against whom a petition, figned by nineteen members of the affembly, had been fent to England, and prefented to his Majesty. In the two fessions preceding this year the affair had been brought into the House of Commons, where this governor's character was painted in frightful colours, and divers papers relating to the dispute were examined. Mr. Knowles having by this time returned to England, the **fubject** 

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subject of his administration was revived, and referred to a committee of the whole House. In the mean time, petions were presented by several merchants of London and Liverpool, concerned in the trade to Jamaica, alledging, hat the removal of the publick courts, offices, and reords of the island of Jamaica to Kingston, and fixing the feat of government there, had been productive of many important advantages, by rendering the strength of the fland more formidable, the property of the traders and inhabitants more secure, and the prosecution of all commerdal business more expeditious and less expensive than formerly; therefore, praying that the purposes of the act pased in Jamaica for that end might be carried into effectual execution, in fuch manner as the House should think proper. The committee having examined a great number of papers, agreed to some resolutions, importing, that a cermin resolution of the affembly of Jamaica, dated on the twenty-ninth day of October, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-three, implying a claim of right in that affembly to raife and apply publick money without the consent of the governor and council, was illegal, repugant to the terms of his Majesty's commission to his governor of the faid island, and derogatory of the rights of the crown and people of Great-Britain: that the fix last resolutions taken in the assembly of Jamaica, on the twenty-ninth day of October, in the year one thousand even hundred and fifty-three, proceeded on a manifest misapprehension of the King's instruction to his governor, equiring him not to give his affent to any bill of an unufual or extraordinary nature and importance, wherein his Majesty's prerogative, or the property of his subjects, might be prejudiced, or the trade or shipping of the kingdom any ways affected, unless there should be a clause inerted, suspending the execution of such bill until his Maefty's pleasure should be known; that such instruction was just and necessary, and no alteration of the constitution of the island, nor any way derogatory to the rights of the subjects in Jamaica. From these resolutions the reader may perceive the nature of the dispute which had arisen between

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BOOK between the people of Jamaica and their governor, Vice Admiral Knowles, whose conduct on this occasion seem to have been justified by the legislature. The parliament however, forbore to determine the question, whether the removal of the courts of judicature from Spanish-town Kingston was a measure calculated for the interest of the

island in general.

6 XXXIX. The last subject which we shall mention as having fallen under the cognizance of the Common during this fession of parliament, was the state of Milson haven on the coast of Wales, one of the most capacious fafe, and commodious harbours in Great-Britain. Her the country affords many conveniences for building thin of war, and erecting forts, docks, quays, and magazina It might be fortified at a very small expense, so as to h quite secure from any attempts of the enemy, and ren dered by far the most useful harbour in the kingdom for fleets, cruifers, trading ships, and packet-boats, bounds and from the westward, for from hence they may po to fea almost with any wind, and even at low water they may weather Scilly and Cape-Clear when no veft can ftir from the British channel, or out of the Frend ports of Brest and Rochefort, and as apost can travel from hence in three days to London, it might become the cent of very useful sea intelligence. A petition from seven merchants in London was prefented, and recommended the House in a message from the King, specifying the vantages of this harbour, and the small expense at which might be fortified, and praying that the House would tal this important subject into consideration. According a committee was appointed for this purpose, with power to fend for persons, papers, and records; and every circumstance relating to it was examined with a curacy and deliberation. At length the report being made to the House by Mr. Charles Townshend, they unan moufly agreed to an address, representing to his Majett that many great loffes had been sustained by the trad of the kingdom, in time of war, from the want of fafe harbour on the western coast of the island, for the

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reception and protection of merchant ships, and sending out cruifers: that the harbour of Milford-haven, in the county of Pembroke, is most advantageously situated, and, f properly defended and secured, in every respect adapted to the answering those important purposes: they, therefore, humbly befought his Majesty, that he would give immediate directions for erecting batteries, with proper cover, on the fides of the faid harbour, in the most convenient places for guarding the entrance called Hubberftone-road, and also such other fortifications as might be necessary to secure the interior parts of the harbour, and that, until such batteries and fortifications could be comleted, some temporary defence might be provided for the immediate protection of the ships and vessels lying in the aid harbour; finally, they affured him the House would make good to his Majesty all such expenses as should be incurred for these purposes. The address met with a gracious reception, and a promife that fuch directions should be given. The harbour was actually furveyed, the places pared, but no further progress hath since been made.

were pitched upon for batteries, and the estimates pre-§ XL. We have now finished the detail of all the maerial transactions of this session, except what relates to he fate of Admiral Byng, which now claims our attention. n the mean time, we may observe, that on the fourth day of July the fession was closed with his Majesty's harangue, he most remarkable and pleasing paragraph of which urned upon his royal affurance, that the fuccour and preservation of his dominions in America had been his constant care, and, next to the security of his kingdoms, hould continue to be his great and principal object. old them he had taken such measures as, he trusted, by he bleffing of God, might effectually disappoint the deigns of the enemy in those parts; that he had no further view but to vindicate the just rights of his crown and subjects from the most injurious encroachments; to prelerve tranquillity, as far as the circumstances of things might admit; to prevent the true friends of Britain,

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and the liberties of Europe from being oppressed and endangered by any unprovoked and unnatural conjunction.

§ XLI. Of all the transactions that distinguished this year, the most extraordinary was the sentence executed on Admiral Byng, the fon of that great officer who had acquired fuch honour by his naval exploits in the preceding reign, and was ennobled for his fervices, by the title of Lord Viscount Torrington. His second son, John Byng, had from his earliest youth been trained to his father's profession; and was generally esteemed one of the best officers in the navy, when he embarked in that expedition to Minorca, which covered his character with difgrace, and even exposed him to all the horrors of an ignominious death. On the twenty-eighth day of December his trial began before a court-martial, held on board the ship St. George, in the harbour of Portsmouth, to which place Mr. Byng had been conveyed from Greenwich by a party of horse-guards, and insulted by the populace in every town and village through which he paffed. The court having proceeded to examine the evidences for the crown and the prisoner, from day to day, in the course of a long sitting, agreed unanimously to thirty-seven resolutions, implying their opinion, that Admiral Byng, during the engagement between the British and French sleets on the twentieth day of May last, did not do his utmost endeavour to take, feife, and destroy the ships of the French King, which it was his duty to have engaged, and to affift fuch of his Majesty's ships as were engaged, which it was his duty to have affifted; and that he did not exert his utmost power for the relief of St. Philip's-castle. They, therefore, unanimously agreed, that he fell under part of the twelfth article of an act of parliament passed in the twenty-second year of the present reign, for amending, explaining, and reducing into one act of parliament the laws relating to the government of his Majesty's ships, vessels, and forces by fea; and as that article positively prescribed death, without any alternative left to the discretion of the court under

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any variation of circumstances, they unanimously adjudged the faid Admiral John Byng to be shot to death, at such time and on board of fuch thips as the lord commissioners of the Admiralty should please to direct. But as it appeared, by the evidence of the officers who were near the Admiral's person, that no backwardness was perceivable in him during the action, nor any mark of fear or confusion either in his countenance or behaviour; but that he delivered his orders coolly and diffinctly, without feeming deficient in personal courage, and from other circumstances they believed his misconduct did not arise either from cowardice or difaffection, they unanimously and earnestly recommended him as a proper object of mercy. Admiral himself behaved through the whole tryal with the most chearful composure, seemingly the effect of concious innocence, upon which, perhaps, he too much relied. Even after he had heard the evidence examined against him, and finished his own defence, he laid his account in being honourably acquitted, and ordered his coach to be ready for conveying him directly from the ribunal to London. A gentleman, his friend, by whom he was attended, having received intimation of the fentence to be pronounced, thought it his duty to prepare him for the occasion, that he might fummon all his fortitude to his affiftance, and accordingly made him acquainted with the information he had received. The Admiral gave tokens of furprise and resentment, but betrayed no marks of fear or diforder either then or in the court when the fentence was pronounced. On the contrary, while divers members of the court-martial manifested grief, anxiety, and trepidation, shedding tears, and fighing with extraordinary emotion, he heard his doom denounced without undergoing the least alteration of feature, and made a low obeifance to the president and the other members of the court as he retired.

§ XLII. The officers who composed this tribunal were fo sensible of the law's severity, that they unanimously subscribed a letter to the board of Admiralty, containing this

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remarkable paragraph:-" We cannot help laying the " distresses of our minds before your lordships on this occa-" fion, in finding ourselves under a necessity of condemn-" ing a man to death, from the great feverity of the twelfth " article of war, part of which he falls under, which ad-" mits of no mitigation if the crime should be committed "by an errour in judgement; and, therefore, for our own " consciences sake, as well as in justice to the prisoner, we " pray your lordships, in the most earnest manner, to " recommend him to his Majesty's clemency." lords of the Admiralty, instead of complying with the request of the court-martial, transmitted their letter to the King, with copies of their proceedings, and a letter from themselves to his Majesty, specifying a doubt with regard to the legality of the fentence, as the crime of negligence, for which the Admiral had been condemned, was not expressed in any part of the proceedings. At the same time, copies of two petitions from George Lord Viscount Torrington, in behalf of his kinfman Admiral Byng, were fubmitted to his Majesty's royal wisdom and determination. All the friends and relations of the unhappy convict employed and exerted their influence and interest for his pardon; and as the circumstances had appeared so strong in his favour, it was supposed that the sceptre of royal mercy would be extended for his prefervation: but infamous arts were used to whet the favage appetite of the populace for blood. The cry of vengeance was loud throughout the land: fullen clouds of fuspicion and malevolence interposing, were said to obstruct the genial beams of the best virtue that adorns the throne; and the s-n was given to understand that the execution of Admiral Byng was a victim abfolutely necessary to appeale the fury of the people. His Majesty, in consequence of the representation made by the lords of the Admiralty, referred the fentence to the confideration of the twelve judges, who were unanimously of opinion that the sentence was legal. This report being transmitted from the privy-council to the Admiralty, their lordships iffued a warrant for executing the sentence. he

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Gentence of death on the twenty-eighth day of February. One gentleman at the board, however, refused to subscribe the warrant, assigning for his refusal the reasons which we have inserted by way of note, for the satisfaction of the reader\*.

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§ XLIII.

\* Admiral F—s's reasons for not signing the warrant for Admiral Byng's execution:

"I'I may be thought great prefumption in me to differ from fo great authority as that of the twelve judges; but when a man is called upon to fign his name to an act which is to give authority to the fleedding of blood, he ought to be guided by his own conscience, and not by the opinions of other men.

"In the case before us, it is not the merit of Admiral Byng that I consider: whether he deserves death or not, is not a question for me to decide; but whether or not his life can be taken away by the sentence pronounced on him by the court-martial, and after having so clearly explained their motives for pronouncing such a sentence, is the point which alone has employed my most serious consideration.

"The twelfth article of war, on which Admiral Byng's fentence is grounded, fays (according to my understanding of its meaning) 'That every person, who, in time of action, shall withdraw, keep back, or not come into fight, or do his utmost, &c. through motives of cowardice, negligence, or disaffection, hall fuffer death.' The court-martial does, in express words, acquit Admiral Byng of cowardice and difaffection, and does not name the word Negligence. Admiral Byng does not, as I conceive, fall under the letter or description of the twelfth article of war. It may be faid, that negligence is implied, though the word is not mentioned, otherwise the court-martial would not have brought his offence under the twelfth article, having acquitted him of cowardice and disaffection. But it must be acknowledged that the negligence implied cannot be wilful negligence; for wilful negligence, in Admiral Byng's fituation, must have proceeded either from cowardice or disaffection, and he is expressly acquitted of both these crimes: besides, these crimes, which are implied only, and not named, may indeed justify suspicion and private opinion, but cannot fatisfy the conscience in case of blood.

"Admiral Byng's fate was referred to a court-marrial, his life and death were left to their opinions. The court-martial condemn him to death, because, as they expressly say, they were under a necessity of doing so by reason of the letter of the law, the severity of which they complained of, because it admits of no mitigation. The court-martial expressly say, that for the sake of their conscience, as well as in justice to the prisoner, they most earnestly recommend him to his Majesty for mercy; it is evident, then, that, in the opinions and consciences of the judges, he was not deserving of death.

"The question then is, shall the opinions or necessities of the courtmartial determine Admiral Byng's fate? if it should be the latter, he will be executed contrary to the intentions and meaning of his judges; if the former, his life is not forseited. His judges declare him not deserving of death; but,

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6 XLIII. Though mercy was denied to the criminal, the crown feemed determined to do nothing that should be thought inconfistent with law. A member of parliament, who had fat upon the court-martial at Portsmouth, rose up in his place, and made application to the House of Commons in behalf of himself and several other members of that tribunal, praying the aid of the legislature, to be released from the oath of fecrefy imposed on courts-martial, that they might disclose the grounds on which sentence of death had passed on Admiral Byng, and, perhaps, discover such circumstances as might show the sentence to be improper. Although this application produced no resolution in the House, the King, on the twenty-fixth day of February, fent a message to the Commons by Mr. Secretary Pitt, importing, that though he had determined to let the law take its course with relation to Admiral Byng, and resisted all follicitations to the contrary, yet, as a member of the House had expressed some scruples about the sentence, his Majesty had thought fit to respite the execution of it, that there might be an opportunity of knowing, by the separate examination of the members of the court-martial, upon oath, what grounds there were for fuch scruples, and that his Majefty was refolved still to let the sentence be carried into execution, unless it should appear from the faid examination,

mistaking either the meaning of the law, or the nature of his offence, they bring him under an article of war, which, according to their own description of his offence, he does not, I conceive, fall under; and then they condemn him to death, because, as they say, the law admits of no mitigation. Can a man's life be taken away by fuch a fentence! I would not willingly be misunderstood, and have it believed that I judge of Admiral Byng's deserts: that was the business of a court-martial, and it is my duty only to act according to my confcience; which, after deliberate confideration, affifted by the best light a poor understanding can afford it, remains still in doubt, and therefore I cannot confent to fign a warrant whereby the fentence of the courtmartial may be carried into execution; for I cannot help thinking, that however criminal Admiral Byng may be, his life is not forfeited by that sentence. I do not mean to find fault with other men's opinions; all I endeavour at, is to give reasons for my own; and all I desire or wish is, that I may not be mifunderstood; I do not pretend to judge Admiral Byng's deferts, nor to give any opinion on the propriety of the act.

" Signed, 6th. Feb. 1757, at the Admiralty.

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that Admiral Byng was unjustly condemned. The fentence must be strictly legal, and, at the same time, very severe, according to the maxim, fummum jus, fumma injuria. In fuch cases, and perhaps in such cases only, the rigour of the law ought to be foftened by the lenient hand of the royal prerogative. That this was the cafe of Admiral Byng appears from the warm and eager intercession of his jury, a species of intercession which hath generally, if not always, prevailed at the foot of the throne, when any thing favourable for the criminal had appeared in the course of the trial. How much more then might it have been expected to succeed, when earnestly urged as a case of conscience, in behalf of a man whom his judges had expressly acquitted of cowardice and treachery, the only two imputations that rendered him criminal in the eyes of the nation! fuch an interpolition of the crown in parliamentary transactions was irregular, unnecessary, and at another juncture might have been productive of violent heats and declamation. At present, however, it passed without cenfure, as the effect of inattention, rather than a defign to encroach upon the privileges of the House.

§ XLIV. The meffage being communicated, a bill was immediately brought in, to release the members of the court-martial from the obligations of fecrefy, and paffed through the Lower-House without opposition: but in the House of Lords it appeared to be destitute of a proper foundation. They fent a message to the Commons, defiring them to give leave that fuch of the members of the court-martial as were members of that House might attend their lordships, in order to be examined on the second reading of the bill; accordingly, they and the rest of the court-martial attended, and answered all questions without hefitation. As they did not infift upon any excule, nor produce any fatisfactory reason for showing that the man they had condemned was a proper object of mercy, their lordships were of opinion that there was no occafion for passing any fuch bill, which, therefore, they almost unanimously rejected. It is not easy to conceive what stronger reasons could be given for proving Mr

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B O O K III.

Byng an object of mercy than those mentioned in the letter fent to the board of Admiralty by the members of the court-martial, who were empowered to try the imputed offence, consequently must have been deemed well qualified to judge of his conduct.

§ XLV. The unfortunate Admiral being thus abandoned to the stroke of justice, prepared himself for death with refignation and tranquillity. He maintained a furprifing chearfulness to the last, nor did he, from his condemnation to his execution, exhibit the least fign of impatience or apprehension. During that interval he had remained on board of the Monarque, a third-rate ship of war, anchored in the harbour of Portsmouth, under a strong guard, in custody of the marshal of the Admiralty. the fourteenth of March, the day fixed for his execution, the boats belonging to the fquadron at Spithead being manned and armed, containing their captains and officers, with a detachment of marines, attended this folemnity in the harbour, which was also crowded with an infinite number of other boats and veffels filled with spectators. About noon the Admiral having taken leave of a clergyman, and two friends who accompanied him, walked out of the great cabin to the quarter-deck, where two files of marines were ready to execute the fentence. He advanced with a firm deliberate step, a composed and resolute countenance, and resolved to suffer with his face uncovered, until his friends representing that his looks would possibly intimidate the foldiers, and prevent their taking aim properly, he submitted to their request, threw his hat on the deck, kneeled on a cushion, tied one white handkerchief over his eyes, and dropped the other as a fignal for his executioners, who fired a volley fo decifive, that five balls paffed through his body, and he dropped down dead in an instant. The time in which this tragedy was acted, from his walking out of the cabin to his being deposited in the cossin, did not excced three minutes.

§ XLVI. Thus fell, to the aftonishment of all Europe, Admiral John Byng, who, whatever his errours and indiscretions might have been, seems to have been rashly condemned, Hemne **G**derat on the cause o mmed of the from malice ject to me, n to my and ke me w percei and re prope me ir that I part c heart happi just c the bo ability I am more prove ment. and ju posed ectio can b crime my ju their of the

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demned, meanly given up, and cruelly facrificed to vile confiderations. The fentiments of his own fate he avowed on the verge of eternity, when there was no longer any cause of distimulation, in the following declaration, which, immediately before his death, he delivered to the marshal of the Admiralty. " A few moments will now deliver me from the virulent perfecution, and frustrate the further malice of my enemies. Nor need I envy them a life fubject to the fensations my injuries, and the injustice done me, must create; persuaded I am that justice will be done to my reputation hereafter: the manner and cause of raising and keeping up the popular clamour and prejudice against me will be feen through. I shall be considered (as I now perceive myself) a victim destined to divert the indignation and refentment of an injured and deluded people from the proper objects. My enemies themselves must now think Happy for me, at this my last moment, me innocent. that I know my own innocence, and am conscious that no part of my country's misfortunes can be owing to me. heartily wish the shedding my blood may contribute to the happiness and service of my country, but cannot resign my just claim to a faithful discharge of my duty according to the best of my judgement, and the utmost exertion of my ability for his Majesty's honour, and my country's service. I am forry that my endeavours were not attended with more fuccess, and that the armament under my command proved too weak to succeed in an expedition of such mo-Truth has prevailed over calumny and falfehood, and justice has wiped off the ignominious stain of my supposed want of personal courage, and the charge of disaf-My heart acquits me of these crimes: but who can be prefumptuously fure of his own judgement? If my crime is an error in judgement, or differing in opinion from my judges, and if yet the error in judgement should be on their fide, God forgive them, as I do, and may the diffress of their minds, and uneafiness of their consciences, which in justice to me they have represented, be relieved, and subide as my refentment has done. The Supreme Judge fees

C H A P. VI. BOOK III. all hearts and motives, and to him I must submit the justice of my cause."

& XLVII. Notwithstanding all that has been said in his favour, notwithstanding the infamous arts that were practifed to keep up the cry against him, notwithstanding this folemn appeal to heaven in his last moments, and even felf-conviction of innocence, the character of Admira Byng, in point of personal courage, will still with mam people remain problematical. They will still be of opinion, that if the spirit of a British admiral had been properly exerted the French fleet would have been defeated and Minorca relieved. A man's opinion of danger variet at different times, in confequence of an irregular tide of animal spirits, and he is actuated by considerations which he dares not avow. After an officer, thus influenced, ha hesitated or kept aloof in the hour of trial, the mind, eage for its own justification, affembles, with furprifing indutry, every favourable circumstance of excuse, and brood over them with parental partiality, until it becomes no only fatisfied, but even enamoured of their beauty and complexion, like a doating mother, blind to the deformit of her own offspring. Whatever Mr. Byng's internal feelings might have been, whatever confequences might have attended his behaviour on that occasion; as the tribum before which he was tried acquitted him expressly of comardice and treachery, he was, without all doubt, a proper object for royal clemency, and so impartial posterity will judge him, after all those dishonourable motives of faction and of fear, by which his fate was influenced, shall be lot in oblivion, or remembered with difdain. The people of Great Britain, naturally fierce, impatient, and clamorous have been too much indulged, upon every petty miscarriage, with trials, courts-martials, and difmiffions, which tend only to render their military commanders rash and precipitate, the populace more licentious and intractable and to difgrace the national character in the opinion of mankind.

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1. Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge taken into the administration. § II. Obliged to refign. § III. Restored to their employments. § IV. Coalition of parties. § V. Descent on the coast of France meditated. § VI. Command of the fleet given to Sir Edward Hawke, and of the land forces to Sir John Mordaunt. Fleet Sails September 8. § VII. Admiral Knowles fent to take Aix. § VIII. Attack and surrender of Aix. § IX. A descent resolved on. § X. The fleet returns to Spithead. His Majesty appoints a board of enquiry into the reasons of the fleet's return. § XI. Proceedings of the court of enquiry. § XII. Its report. § XIII. Sir John Mordaunt tried by a court-martial, and acquitted. § XIV. Fleets fent to the East and West-Indies. § XV. Success of the English privateers. § XVI. Riots occasioned by the high price of corn. & XVII. Operations in America. § XVIII. Lord Loudoun's conduct in America. § XIX. Fort William-Henry taken by the French. § XX. Naval transactions in America. § XXI. Attempt of M. de Kerfin on Cape-coast castle in Africa. § XXII. State of affairs in the East-Indies. Calcutta recovered. The Suba's camp forced, and a new treaty concluded with him. § XXIII. Reduction of Chandernagore. § XXIV. Colonel Clive defeats the Suba at Plaissey, who is afterwards deposed and put to death. § XXV. King of France affaffinated. Tortures inflicted on the affassin. § XXVI. Changes in the French ministry. § XXVII. State of the confederacy against the King of Prussia. S XXVIII. Precautions taken by his Prushan Majesty. § XXIX. Skirmishes between the Pruffians and Austrians. § XXX. Neutrality of the Emperor, and behaviour of the Dutch. § XXXI. The French take possession of several towns in the Low-Countries belonging to the King of Prussia. § XXXII. Declaration of the Czarina against the King of Prussia. Factions in Poland. MXXIII. Fruitless endeavours of the English to restore the

the tranquillity of Germany. & XXXIV. King of Pruffia enters Bohemia. Prince of Bevern defeats the Austrians at Reichenberg. § XXXV. King of Prussia gains a com. plete victory over the Austrians near Prague. Mare. fchal Schwerin killed. § XXXVI. Prague invested. § XXXVII. And bombarded. Brave defence of the befreged. § XXXVIII. Count Daun takes the command of the Au. Arian army. His character. § XXXIX. King of Prusha defeated at Kolin. § XL. He raifes the fiege of Prague, and quits Bohemia. § XLI. Preparations for the defence of Hanover. The allied army affembles under the Duke of § XLII. Skirmishes with the French. Cumberland. § XLIII. Duke of Cumberland passes the Weser. The French follow him, and take Minden and Embden, and lay Hanover under contribution. § XLIV. Battle of Haften. beck. § XLV. The French take Hamelen. Duke de Richelieu supersedes Mareschal d'Etrees in the command of the French army. & XLVI. The French take possession of Hanover and Heffe-Caffel. & XLVII. And reduce Verden and Bremen. Duke of Cumberland figns the convention of Closter-Seven.

BOOK III. 1757.

§ I. HOUGH the parliament of Great-Britain unanimously concurred in strengthening the hands of government, for avigorous profecution of the war, those liberal supplies had like to have proved ineffectual, through a want of harmony in her councils. In the course of the last year the clamorous voice of diffatisfaction had been raifed by a feries of disappointments and miscarriages, which were imputed to want of intelligence, fagacity, and vigour in the administration. The defeat of Braddock, the reduction of Ofwego and other forts in America, the delay of armaments, the neglect of opportunities, ineffectual cruifes, abfurd dispositions of sleets and squadrons, the disgrace in the Mediterranean, and the loss of Minorca, were numbered among the misfortunes that flowed from the crude defigns of a weak dispirited ministry; and the prospect of their acquiescing in a continental war brought

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them still farther in contempt and detestation with the body of the people. In order to conciliate the good-will of those whom their conduct had disobliged, to acquire a fresh stock of credit with their fellow subjects, and remove from their own shoulders part of what suture censure might ensue, they admitted into a share of the administration a certain set of gentlemen, remarkable for their talents and popularity, headed by Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge, esteemed the two most illustrious patriots of Great Britain, alike distinguished and admired for their unconquerable spirit and untainted integrity. The former of these was appointed secretary of state, the other chancellor of the Exchequer, and their friends were vested with other honorable though subordinate offices.

§ II. So far the people were charmed with the promotion of individuals, upon whose virtues and abilities they had the most perfect reliance: but these new ingredients would never thoroughly mix with the old leven. The adminifration became an emblem of the image that Nebuchadrezzar faw in his dream, the leg was of iron, and the foot was of clay. The old junto found their new affociates very unfit for their purposes. They could neither perfuade, cajole, nor intimidate them into measures which hey thought repugnant to the true interest of their counry. The new ministers combated in council every such plan, however patronized: they openly opposed in parliament every defign which they deemed unworthy of the frown, or prejudicial to the people, even though distinuished by the predilection of the sovereign. Far from argaining for their places, and furrendering their principles by capitulation, they maintained in office their indeendency and candour with the most vigilant circumspecion, and seemed determined to show, that he is the best minister to the sovereign who acts with the greatest probity owards the subject. Those who immediately surrounded he throne were supposed to have concealed the true chaacters of these faithful servants from the knowledge of heir royal master; to have represented them as obstinate,

imperious,

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imperious, ignorant, and even lukewarm in their loyalty; and to have declared, that with fuch colleagues it would be impossible to move the machine of government accord. ing to his Majesty's inclination. These suggestions, art. fully inculcated, produced the defired effect: on the ninth day of April Mr. Pitt, by his Majesty's command, resigned the seals of secretary of state for the southern department, In the room of Mr. Legge, the King was pleafed to grant the office of chancellor of the Exchequer to the right honorable Lord Mansfield, chief justice of the court of King's-Bench, the same personage whom we have mentioned before under the name of Mr. Murray, follicitorgeneral, now promoted and ennobled for his extraordinary merit and important fervices. The fate of Mr. Pitt was extended to some of his principal friends: the board of Admiralty was changed, and some other removals were made with the fame intention.

§ III. What was intended as a difgrace to Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge turned out one of the most shining circumstances of their characters. The whole nation seemed to rise up, as one man, in the vindication of their fame: every mouth was opened in their praise; and a great number of respectable cities and corporations presented them with the freedom of their respective societies, enclosed in gold boxes of curious workmanship, as testimonies of their peculiar veneration. What the people highly esteem, they in a manner idolize. Not contented with making offerings fo flattering and grateful to conscious virtue, they conceived the most violent prejudices against those gentlemen who succeeded in the administration; fully convinced, that the same persons who had sunk the nation in the present distressful circumstances, who had brought on her dishonour, and reduced her to the vergeo destruction, were by no means the fit instruments of he delivery and redemption. The whole kingdom catched fire at the late changes; nor could the power, the cunning and the artifice of a faction long support it against the united voice of Great Britain, which foon pierced the ear

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of the fovereign. It was not possible to persuade the peo- CHAP. ple that falutary measures could be suggested or pursued, except by the few, whose zeal for the honour of their country, and steady adherence to an upright difinterested conduct, had secured their confidence, and claimed their A great number of addresses, dutifully and veneration. byally expressed, sollicited the King, ever ready to meet alf way the wishes of his faithful people, to restore Mr. Pitt and Mr. Legge to their former employments. Upon his they rested the security and honour of the nation, as -ell as the public expectation of the speedy and successfil iffue of a war, hitherto attended with diffraces and misfortunes. Accordingly, his Majesty was graciously pleased to redeliver the seals to Mr. Pitt, appointing him fecretary of state for the southern department, on the wenty-ninth day of June; and five days after the office of chancellor of the Exchequer was restored to Mr. Legge: promotions that afforded universal satisfaction.

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f IV. It would not, perhaps, be possible to exclude from a share in the administration all who are not perectly agreeable to the people: however unpopular the late ministry might appear, still they possessed sufficient influence in the privy-council, and credit in the House of Comnons, to thwart every measure in which they did not hemselves partake. This consideration, and very recent xperience, probably dictated the necessity of a coalition, autary in itself and prudent, because it was the only neans of affuaging the rage of faction, and healing those ivisions, more pernicious to the public than the most uitaken and blundering councils. Sir Robert Henley ras made lord-keeper of the great feal, and fworn of is Majesty's privy-council, on the thirtieth day of June: he cultody of the privy-seal was committed to Earl emple: his grace the Duke of Newcastle, Mr. Legge, r. Nugent, Lord Viscount Duncannon, and Mr. renville, were appointed commissioners for executing he office of treasurer of his Majesty's Exchequer: Lord Anion,

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III. 1757-

BOOK Anson, Admirals Boscawen and Forbes, Dr. Hay, Mr. West, Mr. Hunter, and Mr. Elliot, to preside at the board of Admiralty: Mr. Fox was gratified with the office of receiver and paymaster-general of all his Majesty's guards, garrifons, and land forces; and the Earl of Tho. mond was made treasurer of the King's household, and fworn of his Majesty's privy-council. Other promotions likewise took place, with a design to gratify the adherent of either party; and fo equally was the royal favour diftributed, that the utmost harmony for a long time sublisted Ingredients feemingly heterogenous confolidated into one uniform mass, so as to produce effects far exceeding the most sanguine expectations; and this prudent arrangement proved displeasing only to those whom violent party attachment had inspired with a narrow and exclusive spirit.

> § V. The accumulated loffes and disappointments of the preceding year made it absolutely necessary to retrieve the credit of the British arms and councils by some vigorous and spirited enterprise, which should at the same time produce fome change in the circumstances of his Prussian Majesty, already depressed by the repulse at Colin, and in danger of being attacked by the whole power of France, now ready to fall upon him, like a torrent, which had h lately fwept before it the army of observation, now on the brink of difgrace. A well-planned and vigorous descent on the coast of France, it was thought, would probably give a decifive blow to the marine of that kingdom, and at the same time effect a powerful diversion in favourd the Prussian monarch and the Duke of C-d, driven from all his posts in the electorate of Hanover, by drawing a part of the French forces to the defence and protection of their own coasts. Both were objects of great concern upon which the fovereign and ministry were fedulous bent. His royal highness the Duke in a particular mannel urged the necessity of some enterprise of this nature, as the only expedient to obviate the shameful convention now in agitation. The ministry foresaw, that, by destroying the enemy's shipping, all succours would be cut off from

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America, whither they were daily transporting troops; the British commerce secured, without those convoys so inconvenient to the board of Admiralty, and to the merchants; and those ideal sears of an invasion, that had in some measure affected the publick credit, wholly dispelled.

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6 VI. From these considerations a powerful fleet was ordered to be got in readiness to put to sea on the shortest notice, and ten regiments of foot were marched to the Ifle of Wight. The naval armament, confifting of eighteen ships of the line, besides frigates, fire-ships, bombketches, and transports, was put under the command of Sir Edward Hawke, an officer whose faithful services recommended him, above all others, to this command; and Rear-Admiral Knowles was appointed his fubaltern. John Mordaunt was preferred to take the command of the land forces; and both strictly enjoined to act with the utmost unanimity and harmony. Europe beheld with astonishment these mighty preparations. The destination of the armament was wrapped in the most profound secrefy: it exercised the penetration of politicians, and filled France with very ferious alarms. Various were the impediments which obstructed the embarkation of the troops for several weeks, while Mr. P---- expressed the greatest uneasiness at the delay, and repeatedly urged the commander in chief to expedite his departure; but a sufficient number of transports, owing to some blunder in the contractors, had not yet arrived. The troops expressed an eager impatience to fignalize themselves against the enemies of the liberties of Europe; but the superstitious drew unfavourable presages from the dilatoriness of the embarkation. At last the transports arrived, the troops were put on board with all expedition, and the fleet got under fail on the eighth day of September, attended with the prayers of every man warmed with the love of his country, and follicitous for her honour. The publick, big with expectation, dubious where the stroke would fall, but confident of its VOL. IV. G fuccess,

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BOOK success, were impatient for tidings from the fleet; but it was not till the fourteenth that even the troops on board began to conjecture that a descent was meditated on the coast of France near Rochefort or Rochelle.

§ VII. On the twentieth the fleet made the Isle of Oleron, and then Sir Edward Hawke fent an order to Vice-Admiral Knowles, requiring him, if the wind permitted the fleet, to proceed to Basque road, to stand in as near to the Isle of Aix as the pilot would carry him, with fuch ships of his division as he thought necessary for the fervice, and to batter the fort till the garrison should either abandon or furrender it. But the immediate execution of this order was frustrated by a French ship of war's standing into the very middle of the fleet, and continuing in that station for some time before she discovered her mistake, or any of the captains had a fignal thrown out to give chase. A-lk-les, when too late, ordered the Magnanime, Captain Howe, and Torbay, Captain Keppel, on that fervice, and thereby retarded the attack upon which he was immediately fent. A stroke of policy greatly to be admired, as from hence he gained time to affure himself of the strength of the fortifications of Aix, before he ran his Majesty's ships into danger.

6 VIII. While the above ships, with the addition of the Royal William, were attending the French ship of war fafe into the river Garonne, the remainder of the fleet was beating to windward off the Isle of Oleron; and the commander in chief published orders and regulations which did credit to his judgment, and would have been highly useful had there ever been occasion to put them in execution. On the twenty-third the van of the fleet, led by Captain Howe in the Magnanime, stood towards Aix, a small island situated in the mouth of the river Charente, leading up to Rochefort, the fortifications half finished, and mounted with about thirty cannon and mortars, the garrison composed of fix hundred men, and the whole island about five miles in circumference. As the Magna-

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nime approached, the enemy fired brifkly upon her; but Captain Howe, regardless of their faint endeavours, kept on his course without slinching, dropped his anchors close to the walls, and poured in so incessant a fire as soon silenced their artillery. It was, however, near an hour before the fort struck, when some forces were landed to take possession of so important a conquest, with orders to demolish the fortifications, the care of which was entrusted to Vice-Admiral Knowles.

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6 IX. Inconsiderable as this success might appear, it greatly elated the troops, and was deemed an happy omen of further advantages; but, instead of embarking the troops that night, as was univerfally expected, feveral fuccessive days were spent in councils of war, foundings of the coast, and deliberations whether K---'s express orders were practicable, or to be complied with. Eight days were elapsed since the first appearance of the fleet on the coast, and the alarm was given to the enemy. Sir Edward Hawke, indeed, proposed laying a fixty gun ship against Fouras, and battering that fort, which it was thought would help to fecure the landing of the troops, and facilitate the enterprise on Rochefort. This a French pilot on board (Thierry) undertook; but after a ship had been lighted for the purpose, Vice-Admiral Knowles reported that a bomb-ketch had run a-ground at above the distance of two miles from the fort; upon which the project of battering or bombarding the fort was abandoned. admiral likewise proposed to bombard Rochelle; but this overture was over-ruled, for reasons which we need not It was at length determined, in a council of war held on the eighth, to make a descent, and attack the forts leading to and upon the mouth of the river Charente. An order, in consequence of this resolution, was immediately issued for the troops to be ready to embark from the transports in the boats precisely at twelve o'clock at night. Accordingly, the boats were prepared, and filled with the men at the time appointed, and now they

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B O O K remained beating against each other, and the sides of the ships, for the space of four hours, while the council were determining whether, after all the trouble given, they should land; when at length an order was published for the troops to return to their respective transports, and all thoughts of a descent, to appearance, were wholly abandoned. The fucceeding days were employed in blowing up and demolishing the fortifications of Aix; after which, the land officers, in a council of war, took the final refolution of returning to England without any further attempts, fully fatisfied they had done all in their power to execute the defigns of the ministry, and choosing rather to oppose the frowns of an angry f-, the murmurings of an incenfed nation, and the contempt of mankind, than fight a handful of dastardly militia. Such was the issue of an expedition that raised the expectation of all Europe, threw the coasts of France into the utmost confusion, and cost the people of England little less than a million of money.

6 X. The fleet was no fooner returned than the whole nation was in a ferment. The publick expectation had been wound up to the highest pitch, and now the disappointment was proportioned to the fanguine hopes conceived that the pride of France would have been humbled by fo formidable an armament. The ministry, and with them the national voice, exclaimed against the commanding officers, and the military men retorted the calumny, by laying the blame on the projectors of the enterprife, who had put the nation to great expense, before they had obtained the necessary information. Certain it was, that blame must fall somewhere, and the ministry resolved to acquit themselves and fix the accusation, by requesting his Majesty to appoint a board of officers of character and ability to enquire into the causes of the late miscarriage. This alone it was that could appeale the publick clamours, and afford general satisfaction. The enemies of Mr. Pitt endeavoured to wrest the miscarriage of the expedition to

his prejudice, but the whispers of faction were soon drowned in the voice of the whole people of England, who never could perfuade themselves that a gentleman, raised to the height of power and popularity by mere dint of fuperior merit, integrity, and difinterestedness, would now facrifice his reputation by a mock armament, or hazard incurring the derision of Europe, by neglecting to obtain all the necessary previous information, or doing whatever might contribute to the success of the expedition. It was asked whether reason or justice dictated, that a late unfortunate admiral should be capitally punished for not trying and exerting his utmost ability to relieve Fort St. Philip's, invested by a powerful army, and surrounded with a numerous fleet, while no charge of negligence or cowardice was brought against those who occasioned the miscarriage of a well-concerted and well-appointed expedition? The people, they faid, were not to be quieted with the resolutions of a council of war, composed of men, whose inactivity might frame excuses for declining to expose themselves to danger. It was publickly mentioned, that fuch backwardness appeared among the general officers before the fleet reached the ifle of Oleron as occasioned the admiral to declare with warmth, that he would comply with his orders, and go into Bafque road, whatever might be the consequence. It was asked why the army did not land on the night of the twenty-third or twenty-fourth, and whether the officers fent out to reconnoitre had returned with fuch intelligence as feemed to render a descent impracticable? It was asked, whether the commander in chief had complied with his Majesty's orders, "To attempt, as far as should be found practica-" ble, a descent on the coast of France, at or near Roche-" fort, in order to attack, and, by a vigorous impression, " force that place; and to burn and destroy, to the utmost " of his power, all docks, magazines, arfenals, and ship-" ping, as shall be found there?" Such rumours as these, every where propagated, rendered an enquiry no less ne-

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cessary to the reputation of the officers on the expedition than to the minister who had projected it. Accordingly a board, consisting of three officers of rank, reputation, and ability, was appointed by his Majesty to enquire into the reasons why the sleet returned without having executed his Majesty's orders.

§ XI. The three general officers who met on the twenty-first of the same month, were Charles, Duke of Marlborough, lieutenant-general, Major-generals Lord George Sackville and John Waldegrave. To judge of the practicability of executing his Majesty's orders, it was necessary to enquire into the nature of the intelligence upon which the expedition was projected. The first and most important was a letter fent to Sir John, afterwards Lord Ligonier, by Lieutenant-Colonel Clark. This letter had been frequently examined in the privy-council, and contained in fubstance, That Colonel Clark, in returning from Gibraltar, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-four, had travelled along the western coast of France, to observe the condition of the fortifications, and judge how far a descent would be practicable, in case of a rupture between Great-Britain and France. On his coming to Rochefort, where he was attended by an engineer, he was surprised to find the greatest part of a good rampart, with a revetement, flanked only with redans; no outworks, no covered-way, and in many places no ditch, fo that the bottom of the wall was feen at a distance. He remembered, that in other places, where the earth had been taken out to form the rampart, there was left round them a confiderable height of ground, whence an enemy might draw a great advantage: that for above the length of a front, or two or three hundred yards, there was no rampart, or even entrenchment, but only fmall ditches, in the low and marshy grounds next the river, which however were dry at low water; yet the bottom remained muddy and flimy. Towards the river no rampart, no batteries, no parapet, on either fide appeared, and on the land fide he observed

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blerved some high ground within the distance of one hundred and fifty or two hundred yards of the town, in which condition the Colonel was told by the engineer the place had remained for above feventy years. To prevent giving umbrage, he drew no plan of the place, and even burnt the few sketches he had by him: however, as to utility, the Colonel declared himself as much satisfied as if he had taken a plan. He could not ascertain the direct height of the rampart, but thought it could not exceed twenty-five feet, including the parapet. The river might be about one hundred and thirty feet broad, and the entrance defended by two or three small redoubts. As to forces, none are ever garrisoned at Rochefort, except marines, which, at the time the Colonel was on the spot, amounted to about one thousand. This was the first intelligence the miniftry received of the state of Rochefort, which afforded fufficient room to believe that an attack by furprife might be attended with happy consequences. It was true, that Colonel Clark made his observations in time of peace, but it was likewise probable, that no great alterations were made on account of the war, as the place had remained in the same condition during the two or three last wars with France, when they had the fame reasons as now to expect their coasts would be insulted. The next information was obtained from Joseph Thierry, a French pilot, of the protestant religion, who passed several examinations before the privy-council. This person declared that he had followed the business of a pilot on the coast of France for the space of twenty years, and ferved as first pilot in several of the King's ships: that he had, in particular, piloted the Magnanime, before the was taken by the English, for about twenty-two months, and had often conducted her into the road of the Isle of Aix; and that he was perfectly acquainted with the entrance, which, indeed, is so easy as to render a pilot almost unnecessary. The road, he said, afforded good anchorage in twelve or fourteen fathom water, as far as Bayonne: the channel between the islands

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BOOK of Oleron and Rhé was three leagues broad, and the banks necessary to be avoided lay near the land, except one called the Boiard, which is easily discerned by the breakers. He affirmed that the largest vessels might draw up close to the fort of Aix, which he would undertake the Magnanime alone should destroy; that the largest ships might come up to the Vigerot, two miles distant from the mouth of the river, with all their cannon and stores: that men might be landed to the north of fort Fouras, out of fight of the fort, upon a meadow where the ground is firm and level, under cover of the cannon of the fleet. This landing place he reckoned at about five miles from Rochefort, the way dry, and no way intercepted by ditches and moraffes. faid great part of the city was encompassed by a wall; but towards the river, on both fides, for about fixty paces, it was enclosed only with pallisadoes, without a fosse. To the intelligence of Col. Clark and Thierry the ministry added a fecret account obtained of the strength and distribution of the French forces, whence it appeared highly probable that no more than ten thousand men could be allowed for the defence of the whole coast, from St. Valery to Bourdeaux. In confequence of the above information the fecret expedition was planned; instructions were given to Sir John Mordaunt and Admiral Hawke to make a vigorous impression on the French coast, and all the other measures projected, which it was imagined would make an effectual diversion, by obliging the enemy to employ a great part of their forces at home, difturb and shake the credit of their public loans, impair the strength and resources of their navy, disconcert their extensive and dangerous operations of war, and, finally, give life, strength, and lustre to the common cause and his Majesty's arms. board of enquiry took next into confideration the several letters and explanatory instructions sent to Sir John Mordaunt, in consequence of some difficulties which might possibly occur, stated by that general in letters to the minister, previous to his failing. Then they examined

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the report made to Sir Edward Hawke by Admiral Broderick, and the captains of men of war fent to found the French shore from Rochelle to fort Fouras, dated September the twenty-ninth; the refult of the councils of war on the twenty-fifth and twenty-eighth; Sir Edward Hawke's letter to Sir John Mordaunt on the twenty-feventh, and the general's answer on the twenty-ninth: after which Sir John Mordaunt was called upon to give his reasons for not putting his Majesty's instructions and orders in execution. This he did in substance as follows: The attempt on Rochefort he understood was to have been on the footing of a coup de main or surprise, which it would be impossible to execute if the design was discovered or the alarm taken. He also understood that an attempt could not be made, nay, that his Majesty did not require it hould, unless a proper place for debarking, and a fafe retreat for the troops was discovered; particularly where the ships could protect them, and a safe communication with the fleet, and conveyance of supplies from it, were found. His fentiments, he said, were confirmed by 2 paper to this purpose, delivered to him by Sir John Ligonier, on his first being appointed to command the expedition. It was likewise probable, he thought, that although Rochefort should have remained in the situation in which Colonel Clark and the pilot Thierry had feen it three years before, yet that a few days preparation could make it sufficiently defensible against a coup de main. Judging, therefore, the dependance on fuch an operation alone improper, he applied to the ministry for two more old battalions, and artillery for a regular attack to force the place, which, from its construction, appeared as difficult to be made defensible against the latter, as easily secured against the former. But this request being refused, he still thought it his duty to obey his orders on the footing on which the expedition was planned, especially as he understood his instructions were discretionary, regarding the circumstances of the time, the condition of the place,

CHAP. VII. BOOK III. 1757and the nature of the fervice. He recited the positive and credible intelligence received, as well before the embarka. tion as during the voyage, of the alarm given to France, and the preparations made along the French coasts from Breft and St. Maloes to Rochefort: the accidents that kept the fleet hovering along the coasts, and prevented the possibility of an attempt by surprise; the reports of all the gentlemen employed in founding the coasts, so contrary to the intelligence given by Thierry the pilot: the opinion of the council of war, by which he was enjoined to act, and with which his own judgment concurred: the endeavours used, after the twenty-fixth, to find out some expedient for annoying the enemy and executing his Majesty's instructions: the attempt made to land, in confequence of the resolution of the second council of war, which was prevented by boisterous and stormy weather, and, lastly, the reasons that determined him, in concert with the other land officers, to return to England.

& XII. Having confidered all these circumstances, and examined feveral officers who ferved in the expedition, the court of enquiry gave in the following report to his Majesty: - " It appears to us, that one cause of the expedition having failed is the not attacking fort Fouras by fea, at the fame time that it could have been attacked by land agreeably to the first defign, which certainly mult have been of the greatest utility towards carrying your Majesty's instructions into execution. It was at first refolved by Admiral Hawke (Thierry, the pilot, having undertaken the fafe conduct of a ship to fort Fouras for that purpose) but afterwards laid aside, upon the representation of Vice Admiral Knowles, that the Barfleur, the ship designed for that service, was a-ground, at the distance of between four and five miles from the shore: but as neither Sir Edward Hawke or the pilot could attend to give information upon that head, we cannot presume to offer any certain opinion thereupon. We conceive another eause of the failure of the expedition to have

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been, that, instead of attempting to land when the report was received, on the twenty-fourth of September, from Read-Admiral Broderick, and the captains who had been out to found and reconnoitre, a council of war was fummoned, and held on the twenty-fifth, in which it was unanimously resolved not to land, as the attempt on Rochefort was neither adviseable or practicable: but it does not appear to us that there were then, or at any time afterwards, either a body of troops or batteries on shore inflicient to have prevented the attempting a descent, in surfuance of the instructions signed by your Majesty: reither does it appear to us that there were any reasons difficient to induce the council of war to believe that Rochefort was fo changed in respect to its strength, or posture of defence, fince the expedition was first resolved on in England, as to prevent all attempts of an attack upon the place, in order to burn and destroy the docks, magazines, arfenals, and shipping, in obedience to your Majesty's command. And we think ourselves obliged to remark, in the council of war on the twenty-eighth of September, that no reason could have existed sufficient prevent the attempt of landing the troops, as the counal then unanimously resolved to land with all possible dihatch. We beg leave also to remark, that after its being manimously resolved to land, in the council of war of the twenty-eighth of September, the resolution was taken of refurning to England, without any regular or general meeting of the faid council: but as the whole operation was of fo aconsiderable a nature, we do not offer this to your Maifty as a cause of the failure of the expedition, since we cannot but look upon the expedition to have failed from the time the great object of it was laid afide in the council of war of the twenty-fifth."

Marlborough, Sackville, and Waldegrave, probably laid the foundation for the court-martial which fat foon after upon the conduct of the commander in chief on the expedition. The enemies of the m—r made a handle of

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the miscarriage to lessen him in the esteem of the publick by laying the whole blame on his forming a project fo expensive to the nation, on intelligence not only flight at the first view, but false upon further examination. But the people were still his advocates, they discerned some. thing mysterious in the whole conduct of the commander in chief. They plainly perceived that caution took place of vigour, and that the hours for action were spent in de. liberations and councils of war. Had he debarked the troops, and made fuch an attack as would have diffinguished his courage, the voice of the people would have acquitted him, however unsuccessful, though prudence, perhaps, might have condemned him. Even Braddock's rashness they deemed preferable to M---'s inactivity: the loss of fo many brave lives was thought less injurious and disgrace. ful to the nation than the too fafe return of the present armament. The one demonstrated that the British spirit ftill existed; the other seemed to indicate the too powerful influence of wealth, luxury, and those manners which tend to debauch and emasculate the mind. A publick trial of the commander in chief was expected by the people, and it was graciously granted by his Majesty. It is even thought that Sir John Mordaunt himself demanded to have his conduct ferutinised, by which method alone he was fensible his character could be re-established. Majesty's warrant for holding a court-martial was accordingly figned on the third day of December. The count was composed of nine lieutenant-generals, nine majorgenerals, and three colonels, who fat on the fourteenth, and continued by feveral adjournments to the twentieth Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt came prisoner before the court, and the following charge was exhibited against him; namely, That he being appointed by the King commander in chief of his Majesty's forces sent on an expedition to the coast of France, and having received orders and instructions relative thereto from his Majesty, under his royal fign-manual, and also by one of his principal secretaries of state, had disobeyed his Majesty's faid

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orders and instructions. The proceedings of this court CHAP. were nearly fimilar to those of the court of enquiry. The ome evidences were examined, with the addition of Sir dward Hawke's deposition; and a defence, differing in no effential point from the former, made by the prisoner, but the judgement given was clear and explicit. Sir John Mordaunt was unanimously found Not guilty, and therefore acquitted, while the publick opinion remained unaltered, and many persons inveighed as bitterly against the lenity of the present-court-martial as they had formerly gainst the severity of the sentence passed upon a late unfortunate admiral. The evidence of one gentleman in particular drew attention: he was accused of tergiversaion, and of showing that partial indulgence which his own conduct required. He publickly defended his chaacter: his performance was cenfured, and himfelf difmiffed the fervice by his fovereign.

§ XIV. Besides the diversion intended by a descent on the coast of France, several other methods were employed to amuse the enemy, as well as to protect the trade of the kingdom, secure our colonies in the West-Indies, and infure the continuance of the extraordinary fuccess which had lately bleffed his Majesty's arms in the East-Indies; but these we could not mention before without breaking the thread of our narration. On the ninth of February Admiral West failed with a squadron of men of war to the westward, as did Admiral Coates with the fleet under his convoy to the West-Indies, and Commodore Stevens with the trade to the East-Indies in the month of March. Admiral Holbourn and Commodore Holmes, with eleven ships of the line, a fire-ship, bomb-ketch, and fifty transports, ailed from St. Helen's for America in April. The Admiral had on board fix thousand two hundred effective men, exclusive of officers, under the command of General Hopson, affisted by Lord Charles Hay. In May Admiral Osborne, who had been forced back to Plymouth with his quadron by stress of weather, set sail for the Mediter-

ranean,

BOOK III. 1757. ranean, as did two ships of war sent to convoy the American trade.

6 XV. In the mean time, the privateers fitted out by private merchants and focieties greatly annoyed the French commerce. The Antigallican, a private ship of war equipped by a fociety of men who affumed that name took the Duke de Penthievre Indiaman off the port of Co. runna, and carried her into Cadiz. The prize was elli mated worth two hundred thousand pounds, and immediate application was made by France to the court of Spain for restitution, while the proprietors of the Antigallican wen fquandering in mirth, festivity, and riot the imaginan wealth fo eafily and unexpectedly acquired. Such were the remonstrances made to his Catholick Majesty with to spect to the illegality of the prize, which the French East India Company afferted was taken within shot of a neutral port, that the Penthievre was first violently wrested out of the hands of the captors, then detained as a deposit, with sealed hatches, and a Spanish guard on board, till the claims of both parties could be examined, and at last adjudged to h an illegal capture, and confequently restored to the French to the great disappointment of the owners of the privateer Befides the fuccefs which attended a great number of other privateers, the lords of the Admiralty published a list of above thirty ships of war and privateers taken from the enemy, in the space of four months, by the English sloop and ships of war, exclusive of the Duke d'Aquitaine la diaman, now fitted out as a ship of war, taken by the Eagle and Medway; the Pondicherry Indiaman, valued at on hundred and fixty thousand pounds, taken by the Dove man of war; and above fix privateers brought into port the diligent and brave Capt. Lockhart, for which he wa honoured with a variety of prefents of plate by fever corporations, in testimony of their esteem and regard This run of good fortune was not, however, without form retribution on the fide of the enemy, who, out of twenty one ships homeward-bound from Carolina, made prized nineteell damage ligo in

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ze of teen hineteen, whence the merchants fustained considerable damage, and a great quantity of valuable commodities, inligo in particular, was lost to this country.

& XVI. Notwithstanding the large imports of grain from different parts of Europe and America, the artifice of engroffers still kept up the price of corn. So incensed were the populace at the iniquitous combinations entered nto to frustrate the endeavours of the legislature, and to oppress the poor, that they rose in a tumultuous manner in everal counties, fometimes to the number of five or fix thousand, and seized upon the grain brought to market. Nor was it indeed to be wondered at, confidering the ditress to which many persons were reduced. The difficulty of obtaining the necessaries of life raised the price of labour at the most unseasonable time, when all manufacturers were overstocked for want of a proper market, which obliged hem to difmifs above half the hands before employed. Hence arose the most pitiable condition of several thousands of useful industrious subjects; a calamity attended only with one advantage to the publick, namely, the facility with which recruits were raifed for his Majesty's service. At last the plentiful crops with which it pleased Providence to blefs thefe kingdoms, the prodigious quantities of corn imported from foreign countries, and the wife meafures of the legislature, broke all the villainous schemes set on foot by the forestallers and engrossers, and reduced the price of corn to the usual standard. The publick joy on this event was greatly augmented by the fafe arrival of the leet from the Leeward Islands, confisting of ninety-two ail, and of the Straits fleet, esteemed worth three milions sterling, whereby the silk manufacturers in particular were again employed, and their distresses relieved. About the same time the India company was highly elated with he joyful account of the fafe arrival and spirited conduct of three of their captains, attacked in their passage homeward by two French men of war, one of fixty-four, the other of twenty-six guns. After a warm engagement,

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BOOK which continued for three hours, they obliged the French ships to sheer off, with scarce any loss on their own fide When the engagement began, the captains had promifed a reward of a thousand pounds to the crews, by way of incitement to their valour; and the company doubled the fum, in recompense of their fidelity and courage. His Majesty, having taken into consideration the incredible damage fustained by the commerce of these kingdoms, for want of proper harbours and forts on the western coasts receive and protect merchantmen, was graciously pleased to order that a temporary fecurity should be provided for the shipping which might touch at Milford-haven, until the fortifications voted in parliament could be erected How far his Majesty's directions were complied with, the number of merchant ships taken by the enemies privateen upon that coast sufficiently indicated.

> & XVII. Whatever reasons the government had to expect the campaign should be vigorously pushed in America, almost every circumstance turned out contrary to expedation. Not all the endeavours of the Earl of Loudoun to quiet the diffentions among the different provinces, and establish unanimity and harmony, could prevail. Circumflances required that he should act the part of a mediator, in order to raife the necessary supplies for prosecuting the war, without which it was impossible he could appear in the character of a general. The enemy, in the mean time, were pursuing the blow given at Ofwego, and taking advantage of the distraction that appeared in the British councils. By their fuccesses in the preceding campaign, they remained masters of all the lakes. Hence they were furnished with the means of practifing on the Indians in all the different diffricts, and obliging them, by rewards promises, and menaces, to act in their favour. accession to their strength was a real diminution of that of the British commander; but then the ignorance of pufillanimity of some of the inferior officers in our back fettlements was, in effect, more beneficial to the enemy than

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than all the vigilance and activity of Montcalm. In consequence of the shameful loss of Oswego, they voluntarily abandoned to the mercy of the French general the whole country of the Five Nations, the only body of Indians who had inviolably performed their engagements, or indeed who had preferved any fincere regard for the British government. The communication with these faithful allies was now cut off, by the imprudent demolition of the forts we possessed at the great Carrying-place. A strong fort, indeed, was built at Winchester, and called Fort Loudoun, after the commander in chief, and four hundred Cherokee Indians joined the English forces at Fort Cumberland: but this re-enforcement by no means counterbalanced the loffes fustained in consequence of our having imprudently stopped up Wood creek, and filled it with logs. person the least acquainted with the country readily perceived the weakness of these measures, by which our whole frontier was left open and exposed to the irruption of the favages in the French interest, who would not fail to profit by our blunders, too notorious to escape them. By the removal of these barriers, a path was opened to our fine fettlements on those grounds called the German Flats, and along the Mohawk's river, which the enemy destroyed with fire and sword before the end of the campaign.

§ XVIII. In the mean time Lord Loudoun was taking the most effectual steps to unite the provinces, and raise a force sufficient to give some decisive blow. The attack on Crown-Point, which had been fo long meditated, was laid afide, as of less importance than the intended expedition to Louisbourg, now substituted in its place, and undoubtedly a more confiderable object in itself. Admiral Holbourn arrived at Hallifax, with the squadron and transports under his command, on the ninth of July; and it was his lordship's intention to repair thither with all possible diligence, in order to take upon him the command of the expedition; but a variety of accidents interpofed. It was with the utmost difficulty he at length assembled a body of fix thousand men, with which he instantly began his

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march to join the troops lately arrived from England, When the junction was effected, the whole forces amounted to twelve thousand men; an army that raised great expectations. Immediately fome fmall veffels were fent out to examine and reconnoitre the condition of the enemy, and the intermediate time was employed in embarking the troops, as foon as the transports arrived. The return of the scouts totally altered the face of affairs: they brought the unwelcome news, that M. de Bois de la Mothe, who failed in the month of May from Brest with a large fleet of thips of war and transports, was now fafe at anchor in the harbour of Louisbourg. Their intelligence was supported by the testimony of several deserters; yet still it wanted confirmation, and many perfons believed their account of the enemy's strength greatly magnified. Such advices, however, could not but occasion extraordinary fluctuations in the councils of war at Hallifax. Some were for fetting afide all thoughts of the expedition for that feafon; while others, more warm in their dispositions, and sanguine in their expectations, were for profecuting it with vigour, in fpite of all dangers and difficulties. Their difputes were carried on with great vehemence, when a packet bound from Louisbourg for France was taken by one of the English ships stationed at Newfoundland. She had letters on board, which put the enemy's superiority beyond all doubt, at least by sea. It clearly appeared there were at that time in Louisbourg fix thousand regular troops, three thousand natives, and one thousand three hundred Indians, with feventeen ships of the line, and three frigates moored in the harbour; that the place was well supplied with ammunition, provision, and every kind of military ftores; and that the enemy wished for nothing more than an attack, which it was probable would terminate to the difgrace of the affailants, and ruin of the British affairs in America. The commanders at Hallifax were fully appriled of the consequences of an unsuccessful attempt; it was, therefore, almost unanimously resolved to postpone the expedition to fome more convenient opportunity, especially as the be fu enter have what inten

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as the feafon was now far advanced, which alone would be fufficient to frustrate their endeavours, and render the enterprise abortive. This resolution seems, indeed, to have been the most eligible in their circumstances, whatever constructions might afterwards be given, with intention to prejudice the publick against the commander in chief.

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CHAP. VII.

& XIX. Lord Loudoun's departure from New-York, with all the forces he was able to collect, afforded the Marquis de Montcalm the fairest occasion of improving the fuccesses of the former campaign. That general had, in the very commencement of the feafon, made three different attacks on Fort William-Henry, in all of which he was repulfed by the vigour and refolution of the garrison. But his disappointment here was balanced by an advantage gained by a party of regulars and Indians at Ticonderoga. Colonel John Parker, with a detachment of near four hundred men, went by water, in whale and bay boats, to attack the enemy's advanced guard at that place. Landing at night on an island, he sent before dawn three boats to the main land, which the enemy waylaid and took. Having procured the neceifary intelligence from the prisoners of the colonel's designs, they contrived their measures, placed three hundred men in ambush behind the point where he proposed landing, and fent three batteaux to the place of rendezvous. Colonel Parker mistaking these for his cwn boats, eagerly put to shore, was furrounded by the enemy, re-enforced with four hundred men, and attacked with fuch impetuofity, that, of the whole detachment, only two officers and feventy private men escaped. Flushed with this advantage, animated by the absence of the British commander in chief, then at Hallifax, and fired with a defire to revenge the difgrace he had lately fustained before Fort Henry, Montcalm drew together all his forces, with intention to lay fiege to that place. Fort William-Henry stands on the southern coast of Lake George: it was built with a view to protect and cover the frontiers of the English colonies, as well as to command H 2

BOOK III.

command the lake: the fortifications were good, defended by a garrison of near three thousand men, and covered by an army of four thousand, under the conduct of General Webb, posted at no great distance. When the Marquis de Montcalm had affembled all the forces at Crown-Point, Ticonderoga, and the adjacent posts, together with a confiderable body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in the whole to near ten thousand men, he marched directly to the fort, made his approaches, and began to batter it with a numerous train of artillery. On the very day he invested the place, he sent a letter to Colonel Monro, the governor, telling him, he thought himself obliged, in humanity, to defire he would furrender the fort, and not provoke the great number of favages in the French army by a vain refistance. " A detachment of your garrison has " lately, fays he, experienced their cruelty; I have it yet " in my power to restrain them, and oblige them to observe "a capitulation, as none of them hitherto are killed. "Your perfifting in the defence of your fort can only retard " its fate a few days, and must of necessity expose an un-" fortunate garrison, who can possibly receive no relief, " confidering the precautions taken to prevent it. I demand " a decifive answer, for which purpose I have fent the Sieur "Funtbrune, one of my aides-du-camp. You may credit "what he will inform you of, from Montcalm." Gen. Webb beheld his preparations with an indifference and fecurity bordering on infatuation. It is credibly reported, that he had private intelligence of all the French general's defigns and motions; yet, either despising his strength, or difcrediting the information, he neglected collecting the militia in time, which, in conjunction with his own forces, would probably have obliged Montcalm to relinquish the attempt, or, at least, have rendered his success very doubtful and hazardous. The enemy meeting with no disturbance from the quarter they most dreaded, prosecuted the siege with vigour, and were warmly received by the garrison, who fired with great spirit till they had burst almost all their cannon, and expended their ammunition. Montcalm's

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Montcalm's promises or threats could prevail upon them to CHAP. furrender, while they were in a condition to defend themselves, or could reasonably expect assistance from General They even perfisted to hold out after prudence dictated they ought to furrender. Colonel Monro was fensible of the importance of his charge, and imagined that General Webb, though flow in his motions, would furely make some vigorous efforts either to raise the siege, or force a supply of ammunition, provision, and other neceffaries into the garrison. At length necessity obliged him, after fustaining a siege from the third to the ninth day of August, to hang out a flag of truce, which was immediately answered by the French commander. Hoftages were exchanged, and articles of capitulation figned by both parties. It was stipulated, that the garrison of Fort William-Henry, and the troops in the retrenched camp, should march out with their arms, the baggage of the officers and foldiers, and all the usual necessaries of war; escorted by a detachment of French troops, and interpreters attached to the favages: that the gate of the fort should be delivered to the troops of the Most Christian King, immediately after figning the capitulation; and the retrenched camp, on the departure of the British forces: that the artillery, warlike stores, provision, and in general every thing, except the effects of the foldiers and officers, should, upon honour, be delivered to the French troops; for which purpose it was agreed there should be delivered, with the capitulation, an exact inventory of the stores, and other particulars specified: that the garrison of the fort, and the troops in the retrenchment and dependencies, should not serve for the space of eighteen months, from the date of the capitulation, against his Most Christian Majesty, or his allies: that with the capitulation there should be delivered an exact state of the troops, specifying the names of the officers, engineers, artillery men, commissaries, and all employed: that the officers and foldiers, Canadians, women, and favages, made prisoners by land fince the commencement of the war in North-America,

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should be delivered in the space of three months at Carrilon; in return for whom an equal number of the garrifon of Fort William-Henry should be capacitated to serve, agreeably to the return given by the English officer, and the receipt of the French commanding officers, of the prisoners so delivered: that an officer should remain as an hostage, till the fafe return of the escort sent with the troops of his Britannick Majesty: that the sick and wound. ed, not in a condition to be transported to Fort Edward, should remain under the protection of the Marquis de Montcalm; who engaged to use them with tenderness and humanity, and to return them as foon as recovered: that provision for two days should be issued out for the British troops: that in testimony of his esteem and respect for Colonel Monro and his garrison, on account of their gallant defence, the Marquis de Montcalm should return one cannon, a fix pounder.—Whether the Marquis de Montcalm was really affiduous to have these articles punctually executed we cannot pretend to determine; but certain it is, they were perfidiously broke, in almost every instance. The favages in the French interest either paid no regard to the capitulation, or were permitted, from views of policy, to act the most treacherous, inhuman, and insidious part. They fell upon the British troops as they marched out, despoiled them of their few remaining effects, dragged the Indians in the English service out of their ranks; and affaffinated them with circumstances of unheard-of barbarity. Some British foldiers, with their wives and children, are faid to have been favagely murthered by those brutal Indians, whose ferocity the French commander could not effectually restrain. The greater part of the English garrison, however, arrived at Fort Edward, under protection of the French escort. enemy demolished the fort, carried off the effects, provifion, artillery, and every thing else left by the garrison, together with the veffels preferved in the lake, and departed, without purfuing their fuccess by any other attempt. Thus ended the third campaign in America, where,

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with an evident superiority over the enemy, an army of CHAP. twenty thousand regular troops, a great number of provincial forces, and a prodigious naval power, not lefs than twenty ships of the line, we abandoned our allies, exposed our people, suffered them to be cruelly massacred in fight of our troops, and relinquished a large and valuable tract of country, to the eternal reproach and dif-

grace of the British name.

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& XX. As to the naval transactions in this country, though less infamous, they were not less unfortunate. Immediately on Lord Loudoun's departure from Hallifax, Admiral Holbourn, now freed from the care of the tranfports, fet fail for Louisbourg, with fifteen ships of the line, one ship of fifty guns, three small frigates, and a fire-ship. What the object of this cruife might have been can only be conjectured. Some imagine curiofity was the Admiral's fole motive, and the defire of informing himself with certainty of the enemy's strength, while others perfuade themselves that he was in hopes of drawing M. de la Mothe to an engagement, notwithstanding his superiority in number of ships and weight of metal. Be this as it may, the British squadron appeared off Louisbourg on the twentieth day of August, and approaching within two miles of the batteries, faw the French admiral make the fignal to unmoor. Mr. Holbourn was greatly inferior in strength, and it is obvious that his defign was not to fight the enemy, as he immediately made the best of his way to Halli-About the middle of September, being re-enforced with four ships of the line, he again proceeded to Louisbourg, probably with intention, if possible, to draw the enemy to an engagement; but he found De la Mothe too prudent to hazard an unnecessary battle, the loss of which would have greatly exposed all the French colonies. the English squadron continued cruising until the twentyfifth, when they were overtaken by a terrible storm from the fouthward. When the hurricane began, the fleet was about forty leagues distant from Louisbourg: but were driven in twelve hours within two miles of the rocks and breakers

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BOOK breakers on that coast, when the wind providentially shifted. The ship Tilbury was wrecked upon the rocks, and half her crew drowned. Eleven ships were difmasted, others threw their guns overboard; and all returned in a very shattered condition to England, at a very unfavourable season of the year. In this manner ended the expedition to Louisbourg, more unfortunate to the nation than the preceding defigns upon Rochefort; less difgraceful to the commanders, but equally the occasion of ridicule and triumph to our enemies. Indeed, the unhappy consequences of the political disputes at home, the inftability of the administration, and the frequent revolutions in our councils were strongly manifested by that langour infused into all our military operations, and general unsteadiness in our pursuits. Faction in the mother country produced divisions and misconduct in the colonies. No ambition to fignalife themselves appeared among the officers, from the uncertainty whether their fervices were to be rewarded or condemned. Their attachment to particular persons weakened the love they ought to have entertained for their country in general, and destroyed that spirit of enterprise, that sirmness and resolution which constitutes the commander, and without which the best capacity, joined to the most uncorruptible integrity, can effect nothing.

> § XXI. The French King not only exerted himself against the English in America, but even extended his operations to their fettlements in Africa, which he fent one of his naval commanders, with a small squadron, to reduce. This gentleman, whose name was Kersin, had scoured the coast of Guinea, and made prize of several English trading ships: but his chief aim was to reduce the castle at Capecoast, of which had he gained possession, the other subordinate forts would have submitted without opposition. When Mr. Bell, the governor of this castle, received intelligence that M. de Kersin was a few leagues to windward, and certainly intended to attack Cape-coast, his whole garrison did not exceed thirty white men, exclusive of a few

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Mulatto foldiers: his stock of ammunition was reduced to CHAP. alf a barrel of gunpowder; and his fortifications were fo erafy and inconfiderable, that, in the opinion of the best engineers, they could not have fustained for twenty minutes the fire of one great ship, had it been properly directed and maintained. In these circumstances, few people would have dreamed of making any preparation for defence; but Mr. Bell entertained other fentiments, and acquitted himelf with equal courage and discretion. He forthwith procured a supply of gunpowder, and a re-enforcement of bout fifty men, from certain trading veffels that happened to be upon that part of the coast. He mounted some hare cannon upon an occasional battery, and assembling a lody of twelve hundred negroes, well armed, under the command of their chief, on whose attachment he could depend, ordered them to take post at the place where he apprehended the enemy would attempt a landing. Thefe precautions were hardly taken when the French squadron, confifting of two ships of the line and a large frigate, apbeared, and in a little time their attack began, but they met with fuch a warm reception, that in less than two hours they defisted, leaving the castle very little damaged, and immediately made fail for the West-Indies, very much to the disappointment and mortification of the Dutch officers belonging to the fort of Elmina, in the same neighbourhood, who made no scruple of expressing their wishes publickly in favour of the French commodore, and at a distance viewed the engagement with the most partial agerness and impatience. M. de Kersin was generally blamed for his want of conduct and resolution in this atempt: but he is faid to have been deceived in his opinion of the real state of Cape-coast castle by the vigorous and resolute exertions of the governor, and was apprehensive of bling a mast in the engagement; a loss which he could not have repaired on the whole coast of Africa. Had the fort of Cape-coast been reduced on this occasion, in all proability every petty republick of the Negroes fettled under

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BOOK III. the protection of the forts on the Gold Coast would have revolted from the British interest: for while the French fquadron, in their progress along shore, hovered in the offing at Anamaboe, an English settlement a few leagues to leeward of Cape-coast, John Corrantee, the caboceing chief magistrate and general of the Blacks on that part of the coast, whose adopted fon had a few years before been careffed, and even treated as a prince in England, taking it for granted that this enterprise of the French would be attended with fuccess, actually sent some of his depend ants, with a present of refreshments for their commodore the delivery of which, however, was prevented by Mr. Brew, the English chief of the fort, who shattered in pieces the canoe before it could be launched, and threat ened with his cannon to level the black town with the dust. The caboceiro, though thus anticipated in his de fign, resolved to be among the first who should compliment M. de Kersin on his victory at Cape-coast; and, with this view, prepared an embaffy or deputation to go then by land; but, understanding that the French had failed in their attempt, he shifted his design, without the leaf hefitation, and dispatched the same embassy to Mr. Bell whom he congratulated on his victory, affuring him he had kept his men ready armed to march at the first summon to his affistance.

greatly to the honour and advantage of Great-Britain There the commanders acted with that harmony, spirit and unanimity becoming Britons, zealous for the creditor their king and the interest of their country. We lest Admiral Watson and Colonel Clive advancing to Calcutta, in revenge the cruel tragedy acted upon their countrymen the preceding year. On the twenty-eighth of December, the sleet proceeded up the river: next day Colonel Clive landed, and with the assistance of the squadron, in twenty four hours made himself master of Busbudgia, a placed great strength, though very ill defended. On the first of January the Admiral, with two snips, appeared before the

own of Calcutta, and was received by a brisk fire from CHAP. he batteries. This falute was returned fo warmly, that the enemies guns were foon filenced, and in lefs than two lours the place and fort were abandoned. Colonel Clive, on the other fide, had invested the town, and made his attack with that vigour and intrepidity peculiar to himfelf, which greatly contributed to the fudden reduction of the lettlement. As foon as the fort was furrendered, the brave and active Captain Coote, with his Majesty's troops, took offession, and found ninety-one pieces of cannon, four mortars, abundance of ammunition, stores, and provision, with every requifite for fustaining an obstinate fiege. Thus the English were re-established in the two strongest ortresses in the Ganges, with the inconsiderable loss of nine feamen killed, and three foldiers. A few days after, Hughley, a city of great trade, fituated higher up the river, was reduced with as little difficulty, but infinitely greater prejudice to the nabob, as here his storehouses of falt, and vast granaries for the support of his army, were burnt and destroyed. Incensed at the almost instantaneous loss of all his conquests, and demolition of the city of Hughley, the viceroy of Bengal discouraged all advances to an accommodation which was proposed by the admiral and chiefs of the company, and affembled an army of twenty thousand horse and fifteen thousand foot, fully resolved to expel the English out of his dominions, and take ample vengeance for the difgraces he had lately fustained. He was seen marching by the English camp in his way to Calcutta on the fecond of February, where he encamped, about a mile from the town. Colonel Clive immediately made application to the admiral for a re-enforcement, and fix hundred men, under the command of Captain Warwick, were accordingly drafted from the different ships, and fent to affift his little army. Clive drew out his forces, advanced in three columns towards the enemy, and began the attack so vigorously, that the viceroy retreated, after a feeble refistance, with the loss of a thousand men killed, wounded, and taken prisoners, five hundred horses, great numbers of draft

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BOOK III. draft bullocks, and four elephants. Though this advantage was less decifive than could be wished, yet it suffici. ently intimidated the Nabob into concessions much to the honour and advantage of the company. Admiral Wation gave him to understand in a letter, that this was no more than a specimen of what the British arms, when provoked could perform. The Suba defired the negociation might be renewed, and in a few days the treaty was concluded He promised not to disturb the English in any of those privileges or possessions specified in the firm and granted by the Mogul: that all merchandise belonging to the company should pass and repass in every part of the province of Bengal, free of duty: that all the English factor ries seised the preceding year, or since, should be restored, with the money, goods, and effects appertaining: that all damages fustained by the English should be repaired, and their losses repaid: that the English should have liberty to fortify Calcutta in whatever manner they thought proper without interruption: that they should have the liberty of coining all the gold and bullion they imported, which should pass current in the province: that he would remain in strict friendship and alliance with the English, use his utmost endeavours to heal up the late divisions, and restore the former good understanding between them. All which feveral articles were folemnly figned and fealed with the Nabob's own hand.

§ XXIII. Such were the terms obtained for the company by the fpirited and gallant conduct of the two English commanders. They had, however, too much discernment to rely on the promises of a barbarian, who had so perfidiously broke former engagements; but they prudently dissembled their sentiments, until they had thoroughly reinstated the affairs of the company, and reduced the French power in this province. In order to adjust the points that required discussion, the select committee for the company's affairs appointed Mr. Watts, who had been released from his former imprisonment, as their commission at the court of the Suba, to whom he was personally

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snown, as well as to his ministers, among whom he had equired a confiderable influence. Nothing lefs could we balanced the interest which the French, by their art fintriguing, had raised among the favourites of the vicew. While Mr. Watts was employed at Muxadavad, in counterworking those intrigues, and keeping the Suba leady to his engagements, the Admiral and Mr. Clive resolved to avail themselves of their armament in attacking he French settlements in Bengal. The chief object of heir defigns was the reduction of Chandernagore, fituated ligher up the river than Calcutta, of confiderable strength, and the chief in importance of any possessed by that nation h the bay. Colonel Clive being re-enforced by three hunared men from Bombay, began his march to Chandernaore, at the head of feven hundred Europeans and one housand six hundred Indians, where, on his first arrival, he took possession of all the out-posts, except one redoubt mounted with eight pieces of cannon, which he left to be ilenced by the admiral. On the eighteenth of March the Admirals Watson and Pococke arrived within two miles of the French fettlement, with the Kent, Tiger, and Saisbury men of war, and found their passage obstructed by booms laid across the river, and several vessels sunk in the channel. These difficulties being removed, they advanced early on the twenty-fourth, and drew up in a line before the fort, which they battered with great fury for three hours; while Colonel Clive was making his approaches on the land fide, and playing vigoroufly from the batteries he had raised. Their united efforts soon obliged the enemy to submission. A flag of truce was waved over the walls, and the place furrendered by capitulation. The keys were delivered to Captain Latham, of the Tiger, and in the afternoon Colonel Clive, with the King's troops, took possession. Thus the reduction of a strong fortress garrifoned by five hundred Europeans, and one thousand two hundred Indians, defended by one hundred and twenty-three pieces of cannon, and three mortars, well provided with all kinds of stores and necessaries, and of

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B O O K III. very great importance to the enemy's commerce in India, was accomplished with a loss not exceeding forty men on the side of the conquerors. By the treaty of capitulation the director, counsellors, and inferior sevants of the settle ment were allowed to depart with their wearing apparely the Jesuits were permitted to take away their church ornaments, and the natives to remain in the full exertion of their liberties; but the garrison were to continue prisoners of war. The goods and money found in the place were considerable; but the principal advantage arose from the ruin of the head settlement of the enemy on the Ganges, which could not but interfere with the English commerce in these parts.

6 XXIV. Success had hitherto attended all the operations of the British commanders, because they were concerted with forefight and unanimity; and executed with that vigour and spirit which deservedly raised them high in the esteem of their country. They reduced the Nabob to reasonable terms of accommodation before they alarm. ed the French; and now the power of the latter was destroyed they entered upon measures to oblige the treacherous viceroy to a strict performance of the treaty he had fo lately figned. However specious his promises were, they found him extremely dilatory in the execution of feveral articles of the treaty, which, in effect, was the same to the English commerce as if none had been concluded. The company's goods were loaded with high duties, and feveral other infractions of the peace committed, upon fuch frivolous pretences as evidently demonstrated that he fought to come to an open rupture as foon as his projects were ripe for execution. In a word, he discovered all along a manifest partiality to the French, whose emissaries cajoled him with promises that he should be joined by fuch a body of their European troops, under M. de Buffy, as would enable him to crush the power of the English, whom they had taught him to fear and to hate. As recommencing hostilities against so powerful a prince was in itself dangerous, and, if possible, to be avoided, the affair was laid before the council of Calcutta, and canvaffed

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raffed with all the circumfpection and caution that a meaare required, on which depended the fate of the whole rade of Bengal. Mr. Watts from time to time fent them intelligence of every transaction in the Suba's cabinet, and although that prince publickly declared he would cause him to be impaled as soon as the English troops hould be put in motion within the kingdom of Bengal, he bravely facrificed his own fafety to the interest of the company, and exhorted them to proceed with vigour in their military operations. During these deliberations a most forunate incident occurred, that foon determined the coundi to come to an open rupture. The leading persons in he Viceroy's court found themselves oppressed by his laughtiness and insolence. The same spirit of discontent appeared among the principal officers of his army: they were well acquainted with his perfidy, faw his preparations for war, and were fensible that the peace of the country could never be restored, unless either the English were expelled or the Nabob deposed. In consequence, a plan was concerted for divefting him of all his power; and the conspiracy was conducted by Jaffier Ali Khan, his prime minister and chief commander, a nobleman of great infuence and authority in the province. The project was communicated by Ali Khan to Mr. Watts, and fo improved by the address of that gentleman as in a manner to enfure fuccess. A treaty was actually concluded between this Meer Jaffier Ali Khan and the English company; and a plan concerted with this nobleman and the other malecontents for their defection from the Viceroy. These previous measures being taken, Colonel Clive was ordered to take the field with his little army. Admiral Watson undertook the defence of Chandernagore, and the garrison was detached to re-enforce the Colonel, together with fifty eamen to be employed as gunners, and in directing the rtillery. Then Mr. Watts, deceiving the Suba's spies, whom he was furrounded, withdrew himself from Muxadavad, and reached the English camp in safety. On the nineteenth of June a detachment was fent to attack

C H A P. VII.

Cutwa

BOOK 1757Cutwa fort and town, fituated on that branch of the river forming the island Cassimbuzar. This place surrendered at the first summons; and here the Colonel halted with the army for three days, expecting advices from Ali Khan. Disappointed of the hoped-for intelligence he croffed the river, and marched to Plaisfey, where he encamped. On the twenty-third, at day-break, the Suba advanced to attack him, at the head of fifteen thousand horse, and near thirty thousand infantry, with about forty pieces of heavy cannon, conducted and managed by French gunners, on whose courage and dexterity he placed great dependance, They began to cannonade the English camp about fix in the morning, but a fevere shower falling at noon ther withdrew their artillery. Colonel Clive seised this opportunity to take possession of a tank and two other posts of consequence, which they in vain endeavoured to retake, Then he stormed an angle of their camp, covered with double breaft-work, together with an eminence which they occupied. At the beginning of this attack, some of their chiefs being flain, the men were so dispirited that they foon gave way; but still Meer Jassier Ali Khan, who commanded their left wing, forbore declaring himself openly, After a short contest the enemy were put to flight, the Nabob's camp, baggage, and fifty pieces of cannon taken, and a most complete victory obtained. The Colonel pursuing his advantage, marched to Muxadavad, the capital of the province, and was there joined by Ali Khan and the mal-contents. It was before concerted that this nobleman should be invested with the dignity of Nabob; accordingly, the Colonel proceeded folemnly to depote Surajah Dowlat, and, with the same ceremony, to subflir tute Ali Khan in his room, who was publickly acknow. ledged by the people as Suba, or Viceroy, of the provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Orixa. Soon after, the latt Viceroy was taken, and put to death by his fuccessor, who readily complied with all the conditions of his elemtion. He conferred on his allies very liberal rewards, and granted the company fuch extraordinary privileges a fully

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fully demonstrated how justly he merited their affistance. By this alliance, and the reduction of Chandernagore, the French were entirely excluded the commerce of Bengal and its dependencies; the trade of the English company was restored, and increased beyond their most sanguine hopes; a new ally was acquired, whose interest obliged him to remain firm to his engagements; a vast sum was paid to the company and the sufferers at Calcutta, to indemnify them for their loffes; the foldiers and feamen were gratified with fix hundred thousand pounds, as a reward for the courage and intrepidity they exerted; and a variety of other advantages gained, which it would be unnecessary to enumerate. In a word, in the space of fourteen days a great revolution was effected, and the government of a vast country, fuperior in wealth, fertility, extent, and number of inhabitants to most European kingdoms, transferred by a handful of troops, conducted by an officer untutored in the art of war, and a general rather by intuition than instruction and experience. But the public joy at these figual successes was considerably diminished by the death of Admiral Watson, and the loss of Vizagapatam, an English settlement on the Coromandel coast. Admiral fell a victim to the unwholesomeness of the climate, on the fixteenth of August, universally esteemed and regretted; and the factory and fort at Vizagapatam were furrendered to the French, a few days after Colonel Clive had defeated the Nabob.

§ XXV. We now turn our eyes to the continent of Europe, where we see the beginning of the year marked with a striking instance of the dreadful effects of frantick enthusiasm. France had long enjoyed a monarch, easy, complying, good natured, and averse to all that wore the appearance of business or of war. Contented with the pleasures of indolence, he sought no greatness beyond what he enjoyed, nor pursued any ambitious aim through the dictates of his own disposition. Of all men on earth such a prince had the greatest reason to expect an exemption from plots against his person, and cabals among his sub-Vol. IV.

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BOOK jects; yet was an attempt made upon his life by a man, who, though placed in the lowest sphere of fortune, had refo. lution to face the greatest dangers, and enthusiasm suffi. cient to fustain, without shrinking, all the tortures which the cruelty of man could invent, or his crimes render ne. cessary. The name of this fanatick was Robert Francis Damien, born in the suburb of St. Catharine, in the city of Arras. He had lived in the service of several fami. lies, whence he was generally dismissed on account of the impatience, the melancholy, and fullenness of his dispofition. So humble was the station of a person, who was refolved to step forth from obscurity, and, by one desperate effort, draw upon himfelf the attention of all Europe. On the fifth day of January, as the King was stepping into his coach, to return to Trianon, whence he had that day come to Verfailles, Damien, mingling among his attendants, stabbed him with a knife on the right fide, between the fourth and fifth ribs. His Majesty, applying his hand immediately to his fide, cried out, "I am " wounded! Seize him; but do not hurt him." Happily, the wound was not dangerous; as the knife, taking an 'oblique direction, missed the vital parts. As for the asfassin, he made no attempts to escape; but suffering himfelf quietly to be feized, was conveyed to the guard-room, where being interrogated if he committed the horrid action, he boldly answered in the affirmative. A process against him was instantly commenced at Versailles: many persons, fupposed accessaries to the design upon the King's life, were fent to the Bastile; the assassin himself was put to the torture, and the most excruciating torments were applied, with intention to extort a confession of the reafons that could induce him to fo execrable an attempt upon his fovereign. Incisions were made into the muscular parts of his legs, arms, and thighs, into which boiling oil was poured. Every refinement on cruelty, that human invention could fuggest, was practifed without effect; nothing could overcome his obstinacy; and his silence was construed into a presumption, that he must have had accomplices

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complices in the plot. To render his punishment more publick and conspicuous, he was removed to Paris, there to undergo a repetition of all his former tortures, with fuch additional circumstances as the most fertile and cruel dispositions could devise for increasing his misery and torment. Being conducted to the Concergerie, an iron bed, which likewise served for a chair, was prepared for him, and to this he was fastened with chains. torture was again applied, and a physician ordered to attend, to fee what degree of pain he could support. Nothing, however, material was extorted; for what he one moment confessed, he recanted the next. It is not within our province, and we consider it as a felicity, to relate all the circumstances of this cruel and tragical event. Sufficient it is, that, after fuffering the most exquisite torments that human nature could invent, or man support, his judges thought proper to terminate his mifery by a death shocking to imagination, and shameful to humanity. On the twenty-eighth day of March he was conducted, amidst a vast concourse of the populace, to the Greve, the common place of execution, stripped naked, and fastened to the scassfold by iron gives. One of his hands was then burnt in liquid flaming fulphur, his thighs, legs, and arms were torn with red hot pincers; boiling oil, melted lead, refin, and fulphur, were poured into the wounds; tight ligatures tied round his limbs to prepare him for difmemberment; young and vigorous horses applied to the draft, and the unhappy criminal pulled with all their force to the utmost extension of his sinews for the space of an hour, during all which time he preserved his fenses and constancy. At length the physician and lurgeon attending declared it would be impossible to accomplish the dismemberment, unless the tendons were feparated: upon which orders were given to the executioner to cut the finews at the joints of the arms and The horses drew afresh: a thigh and an arm were separated, and, after several pulls, the unfortunate wretch expired under the extremity of pain. His body and limbs

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were reduced to ashes under the scaffold; his father, wise, daughter, and family banished the kingdom for ever; the name of Damien effaced and obliterated, and the innocent involved in the punishment of the guilty. Thus ended the procedure against Damien and his family, in a manner not very favourable to the avowed clemency of Louis, or the acknowledged humanity of the French nation. It appeared from undoubted evidence, that the attempt on the King's life was the result of infanity, and a disturbed imagination. Several instances of a disordered mind had before been observed in his conduct, and the detestation justly due to the enormity of his crime ought now to have been absorbed in the consideration of his misfortune, the greatest that can befal human nature.

§ XXVI. Another remarkable event in France, in the beginning of this year, was the change in the ministry of that nation, by the removal of M. de Machault, keeper of the feals, from the post of secretary of state for the marine; and of M. d'Argenson from that of secretary at war. Their dismission was sudden and unexpected; nor was any particular reason assigned for this very unexpeded alteration. The French King, to shew the Queen of Hungary how judiciously she had acted in forming an alliance with the House of Bourbon, raised two great armies; the first of which, composed of near eighty thoufand men, the flower of the French troops, with a large train of artillery, was commanded by M. d'Etrées, a general of great reputation; under whom ferved M. de Contades, M. Chevert, and the Count de St. Germain, all officers of high character. This formidable army paffed the Rhine early in the Spring, and marched by Westpha lia, in order to invade the King of Prussia's dominions, in quality of allies to the Empress-Queen, and guardians of the liberties of the Empire. But their real view was to invade Hanover, a scheme which they knew would make powerful diversion of the British force from the profecution of the war in other parts of the world, where the ftrength of France could not be fully exerted, and where heir rehemfer oped is Brito Amby the Imperithousal housal border from and w

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heir most valuable interests were at stake. They flattered CHAP. hemselves, moreover, that the same blow by which they oped to crush the King of Prussia might likewise force is Britannick Majesty into some concessions with regard o America. The other army of the French, commanded y the Prince de Soubise, was destined to strengthen the mperial army of execution, confisting of twenty-five housand men, besides six thousand Bavarians, and four housand Wirtembergers. But before these troops, under Soubife, paffed the Rhine, they made themselves masters of several places belonging to the King of Prussia upon the porders of the Low Countries\*; whilst a detachment from d'Etrees's army seised upon the town of Embden, and whatever else belonged to the same monarch in East-Friesland.

& XXVII. At the close of the last campaign, the King of Prussia, having gained a petty advantage over the Imperialists under the command of Mareschal Brown, and incorporated into his own troops a great part of the Saxon army taken prisoners at Pirna, as was observed before, retired into winter-quarters until the feafon should permit him to improve these advantages. His Majesty and Mareschal Keith wintered in Saxony, having their cantonments between Pirna and the frontier along the Elbe; and Mareschal Schwerin, returning into Silesia, took up his quarters in the country of Glatz. In the mean time, the Empress-Queen, finding the force which she had sent out against the King of Prussia was not sufficient to prevent his defigns, made the necessary requisitions to her allies for the auxiliaries they had engaged to furnish. In consequence of these requisitions, the Czarina, true to her engagements, dispatched above an hundred thousand of her troops, who began their march in the month of November, and proceeded to the borders of Lithuania, with defign particularly to invade Ducal Prussia, whilst a strong fleet

<sup>\*</sup> The K of P a had withdrawn his garrison from Cleves, not without fuspicion of having purposely lest this door open to the enemy, that their irruption into G-y might hasten the resolutions of the B-h

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fleet was equipped in the Baltick, to aid the operation of this numerous army. The Austrian army affembled in Bohemia amounted to upwards of four-fcore thousand men, commanded by Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareschal Brown. The Swedes had not yet openly de. clared themselves; but it was well known, that though their king was allied in blood and inclination to his Prussian Majesty, yet the jealousy which the senate of Sweden entertained of their fovereign, and the hope of recovering their ancient possessions in Pomerania, by means of the present troubles, together with their old attachment to France, newly cemented by intrigues and fubfidies, would certainly induce them to join in the general confede. racy. The Duke of Mecklenbourgh took the fame party, and agreed to join the Swedish army, when it should be affembled, with fix thousand men. Besides all these preparations against the King of Prussia, he was, in his quality of Elector of Brandenbourg, put under the ban of the Empire by the aulick council; declared deprived of all his rights, privileges, and prerogatives; his fiefs were escheated into the exchequer of the Empire; and all the circles accordingly ordered to furnish their respective contingencies for putting this fentence in execution.

& XXVIII. In this dangerous fituation, thus menaced on all fides, and feemingly on the very brink of inevitable destruction, the Prussian monarch owed his preservation to his own courage and activity. The Ruffians, knowing that the country they were to pass through in their way to Lithuania would not be able to fubfift their prodigious numbers, had taken care to furnish themselves with provifions for their march, depending upon the refources they expected to find in Lithuania, after their arrival in that country. These provisions were exhausted by the time they reached the borders of that province, where they found themselves suddenly and unexpectedly destitute of fublishence, either to return back or to proceed forward, The King of Prussia had, with great prudence and forefight, secured plenty to himself, and distress and famine

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mine to his enemies, by buying up all the corn and forage of CHAP. the country which thefe last were entering. Notwithfanding these precautions, his Prussian Majesty, to guard as much as could be against every possible event, sent a great number of gunners and matroffes from Pomerania Memel, with three regiments of his troops, to re-enforce the garrison of that place. He visited all the posts which his troops possessed in Silesia, and gave the necesary orders for their fecurity. He repaired to Neiss, where he fettled with Mareschal Schwerin the general plan of the operations of the approaching campaign. There it was agreed, that the marefchal's army in Silefia, which consisted of fifty thousand men, should have in constant view the motions of the royal army, by which its own were to be regulated, that they might both act in concert, as circumstances should require. At the same time, other armies were affembled by the King of Prussia in Lusatia and Voigtland; twenty thousand men were collected at Zwickaw, on the frontiers of Bohemia, towards Egra, under the command of Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deffau; and fixty thousand chosen troops began their march towards Great Zeidlitz, where their head-quarters were fettled. In the mean while, the Austrian troops began to form on the frontiers of Saxony, where some of their detachments appeared, to watch the motions of the Prussians, who ftill continued to purfue their operations with great activity and resolution. All possible care was taken by the Prussians at Dresden to secure a retreat, in case of a deseat. As only one regiment of Prussians could be spared to remain there in garrison, the burghers were disarmed, their arms deposited in the arsenal, and a detachment was posted at Konigstein, to oblige that fortress to observe a strict neutrality. All correspondence with the enemy was strictly prohibited; and it having been discovered that the Countels of Ogilvie, one of the Queen's maids of honour, had disobeyed his Majesty's commands, she was arrested; but on the Queen's intercession, afterwards released. Countess of Bruhl, lady of the Saxon prime minister,

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was also arrested by his Prussian Majesty's order; and, on her making light of her confinement, and refolving to fee company, she was ordered to quit the court, and retire from Saxony. M. Henwin, the French Minister, was told that his presence was unnecessary at Dresden; and on his replying, that his mafter had commanded him to stay, he was again defired to depart; on which he thought proper to obey. The Count de Waekerbath, mi. nister of the cabinet, and grand master of the household to the Prince Royal of Poland, was arrested, and conducted to Custrin, by the express command of his Majesty. The King of Prussia, having thrown two bridges over the Elbe early in the spring, ordered the several districts of the electorate of Saxony to supply him with a great number of waggons, each drawn by four horses. The circles of Milnia and Leiplick were enjoined to furnish four hundred each, and the other circles in proportion.

NXIX. While the King of Prussia was taking these measures in Saxony, two skirmishes happened on the frontiers of Bohemia, between his troops and the Austrians. On the twentieth of February, a body of fix thousand Austrians furrounded the little town of Hirschield in Upper Lufatia, garrifoned by a battalion of Prussian foot. The first attack was made at four in the morning, on two redoubts without the gates, each of which was defended by two field pieces: and though the Austrians were several times repulfed, they at last made themselves masters of one of the redoubts, and carried off the two pieces of cannon. In their retreat they were purfued by the Pruffians, who fell upon their rear, killed fome, and took many prisoners; this affair cost the Austrians at least five hundred men. About a fortnight after the Prince of Bevern marched out of Zittau, with a body of near nine thoufand men, in order to destroy the remaining strong holds possessed by the Austrians on the frontiers. In this expedition he took the Austrian magazine at Friedland in Bohemia, confifting of nine thousand facks of meal, and great store of ammunition; and, after making himself master

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after of Reichenberg, he returned to Zittau. The van CHAP. of his troops, confisting of a hundred and fifty hussars of he regiment of Putkammer, met with a body of fix hundred Croats, fustained by two hundred Austrian dragoons of Bathiana, at their entering Bohemia; and immediately fell upon them fword in hand, killed about fifty, took hirty horses, and made ten dragoons prisoners. Prussians, it is said, did not lose a single man on this occasion; and two soldiers only were slightly wounded, the Austrians having made but a slight resistance.

& XXX. Whatever the conduct of the court of Vienna might have been to the allies of Great-Britain, still, however, proper regard was shown to the subjects of this rown: for an edict was published at Florence on the hirteenth of February, wherein his Imperial Majesty, as Grand Duke of Tuscany, declared his intention of oberving the most scrupulous neutrality in the then situaion of affairs. All the ports in that duchy were accordngly enjoyned to pay a strict regard to this declaration, in all cases relating to the French or English ships in the Mediterranean. The good effects of this injunction foon ppeared; for two prizes taken by the English having put nto Porto Ferraro, the captains of two French privateers addressed themselves to the governor, alledging, that they were captures of a pirate, and requesting that they might be obliged to put to fea: but the governor prudently eplied, That as they came in under English colours he would protect them; and forbad the privateers, at their peril, to commit any violence. They, however, little regarding the governor's orders, prepared for failing, and lent their boats to cut out one of the prizes. The captain iring at their boats, killed one of their men, which alarming the fentinels, notice was fent to the governor; and he, n consequence, ordered the two privateers immediately to depart.—The conduct of the Dutch was rather cautious than spirited. Whilst his Prussian Majesty was employed on the fide of Bohemia and Saxony, the French auxilitries began their march to harrafs his defenfeless territories

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BOOK in the neighbourhood of the Low Countries. A free passage was demanded of the States-General through Namur and Maestricht, for the provisions, ammunition, and artillery belonging to this new army; and though the English ambassador remonstrated against their compliance, and represented it as a breach of the neutrality their High Mightinesses declared they would observe, yet, after fome hefitation, the demand was granted; and their inability to prevent the passage of the French troops, should it be attempted by force, pleaded in excuse of their conduct.

> & XXXI. Scarce had the French army, commanded by the Prince de Soubise, set foot in the territories of Juliers and Cologn, when they found themselves in possession of the duchy of Cleves and the county of Mark, where all things were left open to them, the Pruffians, who evacuated their posts, taking their route along the river Lippe, in order to join some regiments from Magdebourg, who were fent to facilitate their retreat. The diffressed inhabitants, thus exposed to the calamities of war from an unprovoked enemy, were inftantly ordered to furnish contributions, forage, and provisions, for the use of their invaders; and, what was still more terrifying to them, the partizan Fischer, whose cruelties, the last war, they still remembered with horrour, was again let loofe upon them by the inhumanity of the Empress-Queen. was immediately occupied by the French: Emmerick and Mafeyk foon shared the same fate: and the city of Gueldres was befieged, the Prussians seeming resolved to defend this last place; to which end they opened the sluices, and laid the country round under water. Those who retreated, filing off to the north-west of Paderborn, entered the county of Ritberg, the property of Count Kaunitz Ritberg, great chancellor to the Empress-Queen. After taking his castle, in which they found thirty pieces of cannon, they raised contributions in the district, to the amount of forty thousand crowns. As the Prussians retired, the French took possession of the country they quitted

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missary attended them for that purpose. The general rendezvous of these troops, under Prince Soubise, was appointed at Neuss, in the electorate of Cologn, where a large body of French was affembled by the first of April. The Austrians, in their turn, were not idle. Marshal Brown visited the fortifications of Brinn and Koninsgratz; reviewed the army of the late Prince Picolomini, now under the command of General Serbelloni; and put his own army in march for Kostlitz on the Elbe, where he proposed to establish his head-quarters.

proposed to establish his head-quarters. 6 XXXII. During the recess of the armies, while the rigours of winter forced them to suspend their hostile operations, and the greatest preparations were making to open the campaign with all possible vigour, Count Bestucheff, great chancellor of Rusha, wrote a circular letter to the primate, senators, and ministers of the republick of Poland, setting forth, "That the Empress of Russia was extremely affected with the King of Poland's diftress, which the thought could not but excite the compassion of all other powers, but more especially of his allies: That the fatal confequences which might refult from the rash step taken by the King of Prussia, not only with respect to the tranquillity of Europe in general, but of each power in particular, and more especially of the neighbouring countries, were so evident, that the interest and safety of the several princes rendered it absolutely necessary they should make it a common cause: not only to obtain proper fatisfaction for those courts whose dominions had been so unjustly attacked, but likewise to preseribe such bounds to the King of Prussia as might secure them from any future apprehensions from so enterprising and restless a

the command of General Apraxin; and that, as there

neighbour: that with this view, the Empress was deter-

mined to affift the King of Poland with a confiderable body of troops, which were actually upon their march \*, under

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<sup>\*</sup> This letter was written in December; and the Russians, as we obferved before, began their march in November.

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would be an absolute necessity for their marching through part of the territories of Poland, her Imperial Majesty hoped the republick would not fail to facilitate their march as much as possible." She further recommended to the republick, to take some falutary measures for frustrating the defigns of the King of Prussia, and restoring harmony among themselves, as the most conducive measure to these good purposes. In this, however, the Poles were so far from following her advice, that, though fure of being facrificed in this contest, which side soever prevailed, they divided into parties with no less zeal than if they had as much to hope from the prevalence of one fide, as to fear from that of the other. Some of the palatines were for denying a passage to the Russians, and others were for affording them the utmost assistance in their power. With this cause of contention others of a more private nature fatally concurred, by means of a mifunderstanding between the Prince Czartorinski and Count Mnisnec. Almost every inhabitant of Warfaw was involved in the quarrel; and the violence of these factions was so great, that scarce a night passed without bloodshed, many dead bodies, chiefly Saxons, being found in the streets every morning.

in her ministry and councils at home, unsuccessful in her attempts abroad, judging peace, if it could be obtained on just and honourable terms, more eligible than a continental war, proposed several expedients to the Empress-Queen for restoring the tranquillity of Germany; but her answer was, "That whenever she perceived that the expedients proposed would indemnify her for the extraordinary expenses she had incurred in her own defence, repair the heavy losses fustained by her ally the King of Poland, and afford a proper security for their future safety, she would be ready to give the same proofs she had always given of her desire to restore peace; but it could not be expected she should listen to expedients, of which the King of Prussia was to reap the whole advantage, after having begun the was

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and wasted the dominions of a prince, who relied for his CHAP. ecurity upon the faith of treaties, and the appearance of a harmony between them." Upon the receipt of this anfwer, the court of London made feveral proposals to the Czarina, to interpose as mediatrix between the courts of Vienna and Berlin, but they were rejected with marks of displeasure and resentment. When Sir Charles Hanbury Williams, the British ambassador, continued to urge his follicitations very strongly, and even with some hints of menaces, an answer was delivered to him by order of the Empress, purporting, " That her Imperial Majesty was aftonished at his demand, after he had already been made acquainted with the measures she had taken to effect a reconciliation between the courts of Vienna and Berlin. He might eafily conceive, as matters were then fituated, that the earnestness with which he now urged the same proposition must necessarily surprise her Imperial Majesty. as it showed but little regard to her former declaration. The Empress, therefore, commanded his excellency to be told, that as her intentions contained in her first answer remained absolutely invariable, no ulterior propositions for a mediation would be listened to; and that as for the menaces made use of by his excellency, and particularly that the King of Prussia himself would soon attack the Rushan army, such threats served only to weaken the ambaffador's proposals; to confirm still more, were it possible, the Empress in her resolutions; to justify them to the whole world, and to render the King of Prussia more blameable."

§ XXXIV. The feafon now drawing on in which the roops of the contending powers would be able to take the field, and the alarming progress of the Rushans being happily stopped, his Prussian Majesty, whose maxim it has always been to keep the feat of war as far as possible from his own dominions, resolved to carry it into Bohemia, and there to attack the Austrians on all fides. To this end he ordered his armies in Saxony, Mifnia, Lufatia, and Bilefia to enter Bohemia in four different and opposite

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places, nearly at the same time. The first of these he commanded in person, assisted by Mareschal Keith; the fecond was led by Prince Maurice of Anhalt-Deffau, the third by Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick-Bevern, and the fourth by Mareschal Schwerin. In consequence of this plan, Mareschal Schwerin's army entered Bohemia on the eighteenth of April, in five columns, at as many different places. The defign was fo well concerted, that the Austrians had not the least suspicion of their approach till they were past the frontiers, and then they filled the dangerous defile of Gulder-Oelse with Pandours, to dispute that paffage; but they were no fooner discovered than two battalions of Prussian grenadiers attacked them with their bayonets fixed, and routed them. The Prince of Anhault passed the frontiers from Misnia, and penetrated into Bohemia on the twenty-first of April without any refistance. The Prince of Bevern, on the twentieth of the same month, having marched at the head of a body of the army, which was in Lufatia, from the quarters of cantonment near Zittau, possessed himself immediately of the first post on the frontier of Bohemia, at Krottau and Grasenstein, without the loss of a single man: drove away the enemy the same day from Kratzen, and proceeded to The fame morning Machendorf, near Reichenberg. Putkammer's huffars, who formed part of a corps, commanded by a colonel and major, routed fome hundreds of the enemy's cuiraffiers, posted before Cohlin, under the conduct of Prince Lichtenstein, took three officers and upwards of fixty horse prisoners, and so dispersed the rest, that they were fearcely able to rally near Kratzen. Night coming on obliged the troops to remain in the open air till the next morning, when, at break of day, the Prussians marched in two columns by Habendorf, towards the encmy's army, amounting to twenty-eight thousand men, commanded by Count Konigseg, and posted near Reichenberg. As foon as the troops were formed they advanced towards the enemy's cavalry, drawn up in three lines of about thirty squadrons. The two wings were sustained by the

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the infantry, which was posted among felled trees and enrenchments. The Prussians immediately cannonaded the enemy's cavalry, who received it with refolution, having on their right hand a village, and on their left a wood, where they had entrenched themselves. But the Prince of Bevern having caused fifteen squadrons of dragoons of the fecond line to advance, and the wood on his right to be attacked at the fame time by the battalions of grenadiers of Kahlden and of Moellendorf, and by the regiment of the Prince of Prussia, his dragoons, who, by clearing the ground, and possessing the entrenchments, had their flanks covered, entirely routed the enemy's cavalry. In the mean time Colonel Putkammer and Major Schenfeld, with their huffars, though flanked by the enemy's artillery, gave the Austrian horse-grenadiers a very warm reception, whilst General Lestewitz, with the left wing of the Prussians, attacked the redoubts that covered Reichenberg. Though there were many defiles and rifing grounds to pass, all occupied by the Austrians, yet the regiment of Darmstadt forced the redoubt, and put to flight and purfued the enemy, after some discharge of their artillery and small arms, from one eminence to another, for the distance of a mile, when they left off the pursuit. The action began at half an hour after fix, and continued till eleven. one thousand of the Austrians were killed and wounded, among the former were General Porporati and Count Hohenfelds, and among the latter Prince Lichtenstein and Count Mansfeld. Twenty of their officers, and four hundred foldiers, were taken prisoners, and they also lost three standards. On the side of the Prussians seven subalterns and about an hundred men were killed, and fixteen officers and an hundred and fifty men wounded. After this battle Mareschal Schwerin joined the Prince of Bevern, made himself master of the greatest part of the circle of Buntzlau. and took a confiderable magazine from the Austrians, whom he dislodged. The Prince of Anhalt-Dessau, with his corps, drew near the King of Prussia's army, when the atter advanced as far as Budin, from whence the Austrians,

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strians, who had an advantageous camp there, retired Westwarn, half way between Budin and Prague; and his Prussian Majesty having passed the Egra, his army, and that of Mareschal Schwerin, were so situated as to be

able to act jointly.

& XXXV. These advantages were but the prelude to: much more decifive victory, which the King himfelf gained a few days after. Preparing to enter Bohemia, at a di stance from any of the corps commanded by his generals he made a movement as if he had intended to march to wards Egra. The enemy, deceived by this feint, and imagining he was going to execute fome defign, diffind from the object of his other armies, detached a body of twenty thousand men to observe his motions; then h made a fudden and masterly movement to the left, by which he cut off all communication between that detach ment and the main army of the Austrians, which, having been re-enforced by the army of Moravia, by the remain of the corps lately defeated by the Prince of Bevern, and by feveral regiments of the garrison of Prague, amounted to near a hundred thousand men. They were strong entrenched on the banks of the Moldaw, to the north Prague, in a camp so fortified by every advantage of m ture, and every contrivance of art, as to be deemed almost impregnable. The left wing of the Austrians, thu fituated, was guarded by the mountains of Zifcka, and the right extended as far as Herboholi: Prince Charles Lorraine, and Mareschal Brown, who commanded them feemed determined to maintain this advantageous poll but the King of Prussia overlooked all difficulties. Having thrown several bridges over the Moldaw on the fifth May, he passed that river in the morning of the fixth with thirty thousand men, leaving the rest of the atm under the command of the Prince of Anhault-Deffatt and being immediately joined by the troops under Mareschal Schwerin and the Prince of Bevern, resolve to attack the enemy on the fame day. In consequence this resolution, his army filed off on the left by Potiche

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CHAP. VII.

nitz; and at the same time Count Brown wheeled to the right, to avoid being flanked. The Prussians continued heir march to Bichwitz, traverfing feveral defiles and morasses, which for a little time separated the infantry from the rest of the army. The foot began the attack too precipitately, and were at first repulsed, but they soon recovered themselves. While the King of Prussia took the enemy in flank, Mareschal Schwerin advanced to a marshy ground, which suddenly stopping his army, threatened to disconcert the whole plan of operation. this emergency, he immediately dismounted, and taking the standard of the regiment in his hand, boldly entered the morals, crying out, "Let all brave Prussians follow " me." Inspired by the example of this great commander, now eighty-two years of age, all the troops pressed forward, and though he was unfortunately killed by the first fire, their ardour abated not till they had totally defeated the enemy. Thus fell Mareschal Schwerin, loaded with years and glory, an officer whose superior talents in the military art had been displayed in a long course of faithful service. In the mean time, the Prussian infantry, which had been separated in the march, forming themfelves afresh, renewed the attack on the enemy's right, and entirely broke it, while their cavalry, after three charges, obliged that of the Austrians to retire in great confusion, the centre being at the same time totally routed. The left wing of the Prussians then marched immediately towards Michely, and being there joined by the horse, renewed their attack, while the enemy were retreating hastily towards Saszawar. Mean while the troops on the right of the Prussian army attacked the remains of the left wing of the Austrians, and made themselves masters of three batteries. But the behaviour of the infantry in the last attack was so successful, as to leave little room for this part of the cavalry to act. Prince Henry of Prussia, and the Prince of Bevern, fignalifed themselves on this occaion in storming two batteries; Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick took the left wing of the Austrians in flank, Vol. IV. while

B O O K III.

while the King with his left, and a body of cavalry, fecured the passage of the Moldaw. In short, after a very long and obstinate engagement, and many fignal examples of valour on both fides, the Austrians were forced to aban. don the field of battle, leaving behind fixty pieces of cannon, all their tents, baggage, military cheft, and, in a word, their whole camp. The weight of the battle fell upon the right wing of the Austrians, the remains of which, to the amount of ten or twelve thousand men, fled towards Benefchau, where they afterwards affembled under M. Pretlach, general of horfe. The infantry retired towards Prague, and threw themselves into that city, with their commanders, Prince Charles of Lorraine and March chal Brown, but they were much harraffed in their retreat by a detachment of the Prussians under Mareschal The Prussians took, on this occasion, ten standards, and upwards of four thousand prisoners, thirty of whom were officers of rank. Their loss amounted to about two thousand five hundred killed, and about three thousand wounded. Among the former were General d'Amstel, the Prince of Holstein-Beck, the Colonels Goltze and Manstein, and Lieutenant-Colonel Roke. Among the latter, the Generals Wenterfield, De la Mothe, Fenque, Hautcharmoy, Blankensee, and Plettenberg. The number of the killed and wounded on the fide of the Austrians was much greater. Among these last was Mareschal Brown, who received a wound, which, from the chagrin he fuffered, rather than from its own nature, proved mortal. The day after the battle, Colonel Mever was detached with a battalion of Prussian Pandours, and four hundred hussars, to destroy a very considerable and valuable magazine of the Austrians at Pilsen, and this setvice he performed. He also completed the destruction of feveral others of less importance, by the loss of which, however, all possibility of subfishence was cut off from any fuecours the Austrians might have expected from the Empire.

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6 XXXVI. The Prussians, following their blow, im- CHAP. mediately invested Prague on both sides of the river, the King commanding on one fide, and Mareschal Keith on the other. In four days the whole city was furrounded with lines and entrenchments, by which all communication from without was entirely cut off: Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareschal Brown, the two Princes of Saxony, the Prince of Modena, the Duke d'Aremberg, Count Lacy, and feveral other persons of great distinction were shut up within the walls, together with above twenty thousand of the Austrian army, who had taken refuge in Prague after their defeat. Every thing continued quiet on both fides, scarce a cannon shot being fired by either for fome time after this blockade was formed; and in the mean while the Prussians made themselves masters of Czifcaberg, an eminence which commands the town, where the Austrians had a strong redoubt, continuing likewise to strengthen their works. Already they had made a fally, and taken some other ineffectual steps to recover this post, but a more decifive stroke was necessary. Accordingly, a delign was formed of attacking the Prussian army in the night with a body of twelve thousand men, to be sustained by all the grenadiers, volunteers, Pandours, and Hungaman infantry. In case an impression could be made on the King's lines, it was intended to open a way, fword in hand, through the camp of the befiegers, and to eafe Prague of the multitude of forces locked up useless within the walls, ferving only to confume the provisions of the garrison, and hasten the surrender of the place. a deferter gave the Prince of Prussia intelligence of the enemy's defign about eleven o'clock at night. Proper measures were immediately taken for their reception, and in less than a quarter of an hour the whole army was under arms. This defign was conducted with fo much filence, that though the Prussians were warned of it they could discover nothing before the enemy had charged their advanced posts. The attack was begun on the side of the little town, against Mareschal Keith's camp, and the left

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BOOK III. wing of the Prushan army encamped on the Moldaw, From hence it is probable the Austrians proposed not only to deferoy the batteries that were raising, but to attack the bridges of communication which the Prushans threw over the Moldaw, at about a quarter of a German mile above and below Prague, at Branick and Rodbaba. The greatest alarm began about two o'clock, when the enemy hoped to have come filently and unexpectedly upon the miners, but they had left work about a quarter of an hour before. At the report of the first piece which they fixed, the piquet of the third battalion of Prussian guards, to the number of an hundred men, who marched out of the camp to fuflain the body which covered the works, was thrown into fome confusion, from the darkness of the night, which prevented their diffinguishing the Austrian troops from their own. Lieutenant Jork, detached with two platoons to reconnoitre the enemy, attempting to discover their disposition by kindling a fire, Captain Rodig, by the light of this fire, perceiving the enemy's fituation, immediately formed the defign of falling upon them in flank, and gave orders to his men to fire in platoons, which they performed, mutually repeating the fignal given by their commander. The enemy fled with the greater precipitation, as they were ignorant of the weakness of the piquet, and as the shouting of the Prussian foldiers made them miltake it for a numerous body, many of them deferted, many took shelter in Prague, and many more were driven into the river and drowned. At the fame time this attack began, a regiment of horse-grenadiers fell upon a redoubt which the Prussians had thrown up, supported by the Hungarian infantry: they returned three times to the affault, and were as often beat back by the Prussians, whom they found it impossible to dislodge; though Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick's battalion, which guarded this post, suffered extremely. During this attack the enemy kept an inceffant fire with their musquetry upon the whole front of the Prussians, from the convented St. Margaret to the river. At three in the morning the Prustians

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Prushans quitted their camp to engage the enemy. The CHAP. battalion of Parmewitz attacked a building called the Redhouse, fituated at the bottom of a declivity before Wellastowitz. The Pandours, who had taken possession of this house, fired upon them incessantly from all the doors. and windows until they were dislodged; and the Prussian bettalions were obliged to fustain the fire both of cannon and musquetry for above two hours, when the enemy retired to the city, except the Pandours, who again took possession of the Red-house, which the Prassans were forced to abandon, because the artillery of Prague kept a continual fire upon it from the moment it, was known to be in their hands. The Austrians left, behind them many dead and wounded, besides deserters, and the Prussians, notwithstanding the lose of several officers and private men, made fome prisoners. Prince Ferdinand, the King of Pruffia's youngest brother, had a horse killed under him, and was flightly wounded in the face.

& XXXVII. The Pruffian works being completed, and heavy artillery arrived, four batteries erected on the banks of the Moldaw, began to play with great fury. Near three hundred bombs, befides an infinity of ignited balls, were thrown into the city in the space of twentyfour hours. The scene was lamentable, houses, men, and horses wrapped in slames, and reduced to ashes. The confusion within, together with the want of proper artillery and ammunition, obliged the Austrians to cease firing, and furnished his Prussian Majesty with all the opportunity he could wish of pouring destruction upon this unfortunate city. The horrours of war feamed to have extinguished the principles of humanity. No regard was paid to the distress of the inhabitants, the Austrians obthinately maintained possession, and the Prushans practiled every firatagem, every barbarous refinement that conftitutes the military art to oblige them to capitalate. After the conflagration had lasted three days, and confirmed a prodigious number of buildings; the principal inhabitants, burghers, and clergy, perceiving their city on the point of

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BOOK being reduce! to a heap of rubbish, befought the commander, in a body, to hearken to terms, but he was deaf to the voice of pity, and, instead of being moved with their fupplications, drove out twelve thousand persons, the least useful in defending the city. These, by order of his Prussian Majesty, were again forced back, which foon produced fo great a fcarcity of provision within the walls, that the Austrians were reduced to the necessity of eating horse-flesh, forty horses being daily distributed to the troops, and the same food fold at four-pence a pound to the inhabitants. However, as there still remained great abundance of corn, they were far from being brought to the last extremity. Two vigorous and well-conducted fallies were made, but they proved unfuccefsful. The only advantage refulting from them was the perpetual alarm in which they kept the Pruffian camp, and the vigilance required to guard against the attacks of a numerous, resolute, and desperate garrison.

& XXXVIII. Whatever difficulties might have attended the conquest of Prague, certain it is that the affairs of the Empress-Queen were in the most critical and desperate fituation. Her grand army dispersed in parties, and flying for subfiftence in small corps; their princes and commanders cooped up in Prague; that capital in imminent danger of being taken, the flourishing kingdom of Bohemia ready to fall into the hands of the conqueror, a confiderable army on the point of furrendering prisoners of war; all the Queen's hereditary dominions open and exposed, the whole fertile tract of country from Egra to the Moldaw in actual poffession of the Prussians, the distance to the archduchy of Austria not very considerable, and fecured only by the Danube; Vienna under the utmost apprehensions of a siege, and the Imperial family ready to take refuge in Hungary; the Prussian forces deemed invincible, and the fanguine friends of that monarch already fharing with him, in imagination, the spoils of the ancient and illustrious house of Austria. Such was the aspect of affairs, and such the difficulties to be combated,

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when Leopold, Count Daun, was appointed to the com- EH KP. mand of the Austrian forces, to stem the torrent of difgrace, and turn the fortune of the war. This general, tutored by long experience under the best officers of Europe, and the particular favourite of the great Kevenhuller, was now, for the first time, raised to act in chief, at the head of an army, on which depended the fate of Austria and the empire. Born of a noble family, he relied folely apon his own merit, without folliciting court favour; he aspired after the highest preferment, and succeeded by mere dint of superior worth. His progress from the station of a fubaltern was flow and filent: his promotion to the chief command was received with univerfal efteem and applaufe. Cautious, steady, penetrating, and fagacious, he was oppoied as another Fabius to the modern Hannibal, to check the fire and vigour of that monarch by prudent forelight and wary circumspection. Arriving at Boemischhrad. within a few miles of Prague, the day after the late defeat, he halted to collect the fugitive corps and broken remains of the Austrian army, and foon drew together a force for confiderable as to attract the notice of his Frushan Majesty, who detached the Prince of Bevern, with twenty battalions and thirty fquadrons, to attack him before numhers should render him formidable. Daun was too prudent to give battle with dispirited troops to an army flushed with wefory. He retired on the first advice that the Prussians were advancing, and took post at Kolin, wherehe entrenched himfelf ftrongly, opened the way for the daily supply of recruits fent to his army, and inspired the gamisom of Prague with fresh courage, intexpectation of being foon relieved. Here he kept close within his camp, divided the Prussian force by obliging the King to antploy near half his army in watching his defigns, weakened his efforts against Prague, harrassed the enemy by outring eff their convoys, and restored, by degrees, the languishing and almost desponding spirits of his troops. Perfectly acquainted with the ardour and discipline of the Plussian forces, with the enterprising and impetuous disposition of

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BOOK that monarch, and fensible that his situation would prove irksome and embarrassing to the enemy, he improved it to the best advantage, seemed to foresee all the consequences, and directed every meafure to produce them. Thus he retarded the enemy's operations, and affiduously avoided precipitating an action until the Prussian vigour should be exhausted, their strength impaired by losses and defertion, the first fire and ardour of their genius extinguished by continual fatigue and inceffant alarms, and until the impression made on his own men, by the late defeat, should, in some degree, be effaced. The event justified Daun's conduct. His army grew every day more numerous, while his Prussian Majesty began to express the utmost impatience at the length of the fiege. When that monarch first invested Prague, it was on the presumption that the numerous forces within the walls would, by confuming all the provision, oblige it to furrender in a few days, but perceiving that the Austrians had still a considerable quantity of corn, that Count Daun's army was daily increasing, and would soon be powerful enough not only to cope with the detachment under the Prince of Bevern, but in a condition to raise the siege, he determined to give the Count battle with one part of his army, while he kept Prague blocked up with the other. The Austrians, amounting now to fixty thousand men, were deeply entrenched, and defended by a numerous train of artillery, placed on redoubts and batteries erected on the most advantageous posts. Every accessible part of the camp was fortified with lines and heavy pieces of battering cannon, and the foot of the hills fecured by difficult defiles. Yet, strong as this situation might appear, formidable as the Austrian forces certainly were, his Prussian Majesty undertook to dislodge them with a body of horse and foot not exceeding thirty-two thousand men.

6 XXXIX. On the thirteenth day of June, the King of Prussia quitted the camp before Prague, escorted by a few battalions and squadrons, with which he joined the Prince of Bevern at Milkowitz.

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Mareschal Keith, it is said, strenuously opposed this mea- CHAP. ure, and advised either raising the siege entirely, and atacking the Austrians with the united forces of Prussia, or postponing the attack on the camp at Kolin until his Maefty should either gain possession of the city, or some atemps should be made to oblige him to quit his posts. From either measure an advantage would have resulted. With his whole army he might probably have defeated Count Daun, or at least have obliged him to retreat. Had he continued within his lines at Prague, the Austrian general could not have constrained him to raise the siege without losing his own advantageous situation, and giving battle upon terms nearly equal. But the King, elated with fuccess, impetuous in his valour, and confident of the superiority of his own troops in point of discipline, thought all refistance must fink under the weight of his victorious arm, and yield to that courage which had already furmounted fuch difficulties, difregarded the marefchal's fage counsel, and marched up to the attack undaunted, and even affured of fuccess. By the eighteenth he two armies were in fight, and his Majesty found that Count Daun had not only fortified his camp with all the heavy cannon of Olmutz, but was strongly re-enforced with troops from Moravia and Austria, which had joined him after the King's departure from Prague. He found he Austrians drawn up in three lines upon the high rounds between Genlitz and St. John the Baptift. Difscult as it was to approach their situation, the Prussian nfantry marched up with firmness, while shot was poured ike hail from the enemy's batteries, and began the attack about three in the afternoon. They drove the Austrians with irrefistible intrepidity from two eminences secured vith heavy cannon, and two villages defended by feveral attalions; but, in attacking the third eminence, were anked by the Austrian cavalry, by grape-shot, poured rom the batteries; and, after a violent conflict, and proigious loss of men, thrown into disorder. Animated with he King's presence, they rallied, and returned with double

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B O O K ardour to the charge, but were a fecond time repulled Seven times successively did Prince Ferdinand renew the attack, performing every duty of a great general and valiant foldier, though always with the same fortune. The inferiority of the Brussian infantry, the disadvantages, of ground, where the cavalry could not act, the advantageous tituation of the enemy, their numerous artillery, their entrenehments, numbers, and obstinacy, joined to the tkilk and conduct of their general, all conspired to defeat the hopes of the Prussians, to surmount their valour, and obligo them to retreat. The King then made a last and furious effore, at the head of the cavalry, on the enemy left wing, but with as little fuccefs as all the former attacks. Every effort was made, and every attempt was productive only of greater loifes and misfortunes. At last, if texexposing his person in the most perilous situations, his Reaftan Majesty drew off his forces from the field of ha tie; retiring in fuch good order, in fight of the enemy, s prevented as purfuit; or the loss of his artillery and baggages, Almost all the officers an either fide diftinguished themselves, and Count Daun, whose conduct emulant that of his Pauffian Majesty; received two slight wounds, and had a borfe killed under him. The loffes of both rimis were very confiderable: on that of the Pruffians, the killed and wounded amounted to eight thousand; less permicious however, to his Majesty's cause than the frequent detenans, and other immumerable ill confequences that entired

5 XE. When the Phuffian army arrived at Nimburghis Majesty, leaving the command with the Prince of Berem, took horfe; and efforted by twelve on fourteen hullis, fet out for Prague, where he arrived next morning withour haiting, after having been the whole preceding day, on horseback. Immediately he gave orders for fending off all his arallery, amountains, and baggage; dist were executed with formuch expedition, that the em were firmek, and the army on their merch, before the garriforn were informed of the King's defeat. Thus If minata Ethe Battle of Kolin and Sege of Prague, in which

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1757.

he acknowledged errours of his Prussian Majesty were in CHAP. ome measure atoned by the candour with which he owned his mistake, both in a letter to the Earl Mareschal\*, and in conversation with several of his general officers. Most people, indeed, imagined the King highly blameable for hecking the ardour of his troops, to stop and lay siege to Prague. They thought he should have pursued his conquests, over-run Austria, Moravia, and all the hereditary dominions, from which alone the Empress-Queen could draw speedy succours. A body of twenty or thirty thouand men would have blocked up Prague, while the remainder of the Pruffian forces might have obliged the Imperial amily to retire from Vienna, and effectually prevented Count Daun from affembling another army. It was univerfally expected he would have bent his march straight othis capital, but he dreaded leaving the numerous army in Prague behind, and it was of great importance to comolete the conquest of Bohemia. The Prince of Prussia marched all night with his corps to Nimburg, where he cined the Prince of Bevern, and Marefchal Keith retreated

• "The Imperial grenadiers, fays he, are an admirable corps: one hunred companies defended a rising ground, which my belt infantry could not my. Ferdinand, who commanded them, returned feven times to the arge; but to no purpose. At first he mastered a battery, but could not old it. The enemy had the advantage of a numerous and well-ferved arllery. It did honour to Lichtenstein, who had the direction. Only the russian army can dispute it with him. My infantry were too few. All y cavalry were prefent, and idle spectators, excepting a hold push by my pusehold troops, and some dragoons. Ferdinand attacked without powder; eenemy, in return, were not sparing of their's. They had the advantage of riling ground, of entrenchments, and of a prodigious artillery. Several of y regiments were repulsed by their musqu try. Henry performed wonders. temble for my worthy brothers: they are too brave. Fortune turned her ck on me this day. I ought to have expected it: she is a female, and I and gallant. In fact, I ought to have had more infantry.-Success, my dear rd, often occasions a destructive confidence. Twenty-four battalions were ot fufficient to dislodge fixty thousand men from an advantageous post. Anoer time we will do better. - What fay you of this league, which has only e Marquis of Brandenbourg for its object? The great Elector would be sprised to see his grandson at war with the Russians, the Austrians, almost Germany, and an hundred thousand French auxiliaries-I know not wheerit will be difgrace in me to fubmit, but I am fure there will be no glory in inquishing me.'

BOOK III.

treated next day. Count Brown, having died before, of the wounds he received on the fixth of May, Prince Charles of Lorraine fallied out with a large body of the Austrians, and attacked the rear of the Prussians; but did no further mischief than killing about two hundred of their men. The siege of Prague being thus raised, the imprisoned Austrians received their deliverer, Count Daun, with inexpressible joy, and their united forces became greatly superior to those of the King of Prussia, who was in a short time obliged to evacuate Bohemia, and take resuge in Saxony. The Austrians harrassed him as much as possible in his retreat; but their armies, though superior in numbers, were not in a condition, from their late sufferings to make any decisive attempt upon him, as the frontiers of Saxony abound with situations easily defended.

6 XII. Having thus described the progress of the Prussians in Bohemia, we must cast our eyes on the trans affions which diffinguished the campaign in Westphalin. To guard against the florm which menaced Hanover is particular, orders were transmitted thither to recruit the troops that had been fent back from England, to augment each company, to remount the cavalry with the utmol expedition; not to fuffer any horses to be conveyed out of the electorate; to furnish the magazines in that county with all things necessary for fifty thousand men. Of thek twenty-fix thousand were to be Hanoverians, and in confequence of engagements entered into for that purpok twelve thousand Hessians, fix thousand Brunswickers two thousand Saxe-Gothans, and a thousand Lune harghers, to be joined by a confiderable body of Prushaus the whole commanded by his royal highness the Duke of Cumberland. The King of England having published? manifelto, dated at Hanover, specifying his motives in taking the field in Westphalia, the troops of the confede rated states that were to compose the allied army, union the name of an army of observation, began to assemble with all possible diligence near Bieleseldt. Thither the generals appointed to command the feveral division me paired

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paired, to settle the plan of operations with their comander, the Duke of Cumberland, who, having lest
orden on the ninth of April, arrived on the fixteenth
Hanover, and from thence repaired to the army, which,
aving been joined by three Prussian regiments that reired from Wesel, consisted of thirty-seven battalions and
hirty-sour squadrons. Of these six battalions and six
quadrons were posted at Bieleseldt, under the command
of Lieutenant-General Baron de Sporcken; six battalions,
under Lieutenant-General de Block, at Hervorden; six
battalions and four squadrons, under Major-General
Ledebour, between Hervorden and Minden; seven battaions and ten squadrons, under Lieutenant-General d'Oberg
in the neighbourhood of Hamelen; and sive battalions
and four squadrons, under Major-General de Haus, near

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inder Lieutenant-General de Block, at Hervorden; fix attalions and four squadrons, under Major-General Ledebour, between Hervorden and Minden; seven battalions and ten squadrons, under Lieutenant-General d'Oberg in the neighbourhood of Hamelen; and five battalions and sour squadrons, under Major-General de Hauss, near Nichburgh. The head-quarters of his Royal Highness were at Bielefeldt.

§ XLII. In the meantime, the French on the Lower-Rhine continued filing off incessantly. The siege of Gueldres was converted into a blockade, occasioned by the difficulties the enemy sound in raising batteries; and a party of Hanoverians having passed the Weser, as well to ravage the country of Paderbourn as to reconneitre the French carried off several was gons loaded with wheat and

CHAP. VII.

& XLII. In the meantime, the French on the Lower-Rhine continued filing off inceffantly. The fiege of Gueldres was converted into a blockade, occasioned by he difficulties the enemy found in raising batteries; and a party of Hanoverians having passed the Weser, as well to ravage the country of Paderbourn as to reconneitreathe French, carried off feveral-waggons loaded with wheat and oats, destined for the territories of the Elector of Cologn. On the other hand, Colonel Fischer having had an engagement with a small body of Hanoverians, in the county of Teklenburgh, routed them, and made some prisoners. After several other petty skirmishes between the French and the Hanoverians, the Duke of Cumberland altered the polition of his camp, by placing it between Bielefeldt and Hervorden, in hopes of frustrating the design of the enemy; who, declining to attack him on the fide of Bracwede, after having reconnoitred his fituation feveral days, made a motion on their left, as if they meant to get between him and the Weser. This step was no sooner taken, than, on the thirteenth of June in the afternoon, having received advice that the enemy had caused a large body of BOOK III. 1757troops, followed by a fecond, to march on his right to Burghotte, he ordered his army to march that evening towards Hervorden; and at the same time Major-General Hardenberg marched with four battalions of grenadiers, and a regiment of horse, to re-enforce that post. Count Schulenberg covered the left of the march with a battalion of grenadiers, a regiment of horse, and the light troops of Buckeburg. The whole army marched in two columns The right, composed of horse, and followed by two bat. talions, to cover their patfage through the enclosures and defiles, passed by the right of Bielefeldt; and the lest, confisting of infantry, marched by the left of the fame town. The van-guard of the French army attacked the rear-guard of the allies, commanded by Major-General Einfiedel, very brifkly, and at first put them into some confusion, but they immediately recovered themselves. This was in the beginning of the night. At break of day the enemy's re-enforcements returned to the charge, but were again repulfed, nor could they once break through Lieutenant Colonel Alfeldt's Hanoverian guards, which closed the army's march with a detachment of regular troops, and a new-raifed corps of hunters.

§ XLIII. The allies encamped at Cofeldt the fourteenth, and remained there all the next day, when the enemy's detachments advanced to the gates of Hervorden, and made a feint as if they would attack the town, after having fummoned it to furrender; but they retired without attempting any thing further; and, in the mean time, the troops that were posted at Hervorden, and formed the rear-guard, passed the Weser on the side of Remen, without any molestation, and encamped at Holtzuysen. A body of troops which had been left at Bielefeldt, to cover the Duke's retreat, after some skirmishes with the French, rejoined the army in the neighbourhood of Herfort; and a few days after his Royal Highness drew near his bridges on the Weser, and sent over his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. At the fame time some detachments passed the river on the right, between Minden and Oldendorp, and

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nathed out a new camp advantageously situated, having e Weser in front, and the right and lest covered with minences and marshes. There the army under his royal ighness re-assembled, and the French fixed their headwarters at Bielefeldt, which the Hanoverians had quitted, gwing in it only part of a magazine, which had been fet on fire. By this time the French were in fuch want of orage, that M. d'Etrées himfelf, the princes of the blood, nd all the officers without exception, were obliged to fend ack part of their horses. However, on the tenth of June heir whole army, confifting of seventy battaliens and forty quadrons, with fifty-two pieces of cannon, befides a body f cavalry left at Ruremonde for the conveniency of forage, was put in motion. In spite of almost impassable forests, amine, and every other obstacle that could be thrown in heir way by a vigilant and experienced general, they at length furmounted all difficulties, and advanced into a country abounding with plenty, and unused to the ravages of war. It was imagined that the passage of the Weser, which defends Hanover from foreign attacks, would have been vigoroully opposed by the army of the allies: but whether, in the present fituation of affairs, it was thought adviseable to act only upon the desensive, and not to begin he attack in a country that was not concerned as a prinipal in the war, or the Duke of Cumberland found himelf too weak to make head against the enemy, is a question we shall not pretend to determine. However that may have been, the whole French army passed the Weser on he tenth and eleventh of July, without the loss of a man. The manner of effecting this passage is thus related: -Mareschal d'Etrées being informed that his magazines of provisions were well furnished, his ovens established, and the artillery and pontoons arrived at the destined places, ordered Lieutenant-General Broglio, with ten battalions, twelve squadrons, and ten pieces of cannon, to march to

Engheren; Lieutenant-General M. de Chevert, with fixteen

battalions, three-brigades of carabineers, the royal hunters,

and fix hundred hussars, to march to Hervorden, and

CHAP. VII.

Lieutenant-

BOOK III 1757

Lieutenant-General Marquis d'Armentieres, with twelve battalions and ten squadrons, to march to Ulrickhausen, All thefe troops being arrived in their camp on the fourth of July, halted the fifth. On the fixth, twenty-two bat talions, and thirty-two fquadrons, under the command of the Duke of Orleans, who was now arrived at the army marched to Ulrickhausen, from whence M. d'Armentiere had fet out early in the morning, with the troops underlin command, and by hafty marches got on the feventh, by eleven at night, to Blankenhoven, where he found the boats which had gone from Ahrensberg. The bridge were built, the cannon planted, and the entrenchments the head of the bridges completed in the night betweenth feventh and eighth. The Mareschal having sent away part of his baggage from Bielefeldt on the fixth, wentin person on the seventh at eleven o'clock to Horn, and on the eighth to Braket. On advice that M. d'Armentiers had thrown his bridges acrofs without opposition, and wa at work on his entrenchments, he went on the ninth to Blankenhoven, to fee the bridges and entrenchments; and afterwards advanced to examine the first position he intend ed for this army, and came down the right fide of the Wefer to the abbey of Corvey, where he forded the rive, with the princes of the blood, and their attendants. 01 the tenth in the morning he got on horseback by four o'clock, to fee the Duke of Orlean's division file off, which arrived at Corvey at ten o'clock; as also that of M d'Armentieres, which arrived at eleven, and that of M Souvré, which arrived at noon. The Mareschal having examined the course of the river, caused the bridges of pontoons to be laid within gun-shot of the abbey, when the Viscount de Turenne passed that river in the year one thousand six hundred and seventy-three, and when the divisions, under Broglio and Chevert now passed it of the twelfth and thirteenth. These two generals being in formed of what was to be done upon the Upper Weser, attacked Minden, and carried it, whilst a detachment of the French entered the country of East-Friesland, under

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the command of the Marquis d'Auvel: and, after taking possession of Lier, marched on the right of the Ems to Embden, the only sea-port the King of Prussia had, which at first seemed determined to make a defence, but the inhabitants were not agreed upon the methods to be taken for that purpose. They, therefore, met to deliberate, but in the mean time, their gates being shut, M. d'Auvel caused some cannon to be brought to beat them down; and the garrison, composed of four hundred Prussians, not being strong enough to defend the town, the foldiers mutinied against their officers, whereupon a capitulation was agreed on, and the gates were opened to the French commander, who made his troops enter with a great deal of order, affured the magistrates that care should be taken to make them observe a good discipline, and published two ordinances, one for the fecurity of the religion and commerce of the city, and the other for prohibiting the exportation of corn and forage out of that principality. The inhabitants were, however, obliged to take an oath of allegiance to the French King.

&XLIV. On Sunday the twenty-fourth of July, the French, after having laid a part of the electorate of Hanover under contribution, marched in three columns, with their artillery, towards the village of Latford, when Major-General Fustenberg, who commanded the outports in the village, fent an officer to inform the Duke of Cumberland of their approach. His Royal Highness immediately re-enforced those posts with a body of troops, under the command of Lieutenant-General Sporcken; but finding it impossible to support the village, as it was commanded by the heights opposite to it, which were possessed by the enemy, and being sensible that it would be always in his power to retake it, from its fituation in a bottom between two hills, he withdrew his post from Latford. The French then made two attacks, one at the point of the wood, and the other higher up in the same wood, opposite to the grenadiers commanded by Major-General Hardenberg, but they failed in both; and though the fire of their artillery was very hot, they were obliged to re-Vol. IV. tire.

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BOOK III. 1757. tire. The French army encamping on the heights oppo. fite to the Duke of Cumberland's posts, the intelligence received, that M. d'Etrées had affembled all his troops, and was furnished with a very considerable train of artillery. left his Royal Highness no room to doubt of his intend. ing to attack him. He, therefore, refolved to change his camp for a more advantageous fituation, by drawing up his army on the eminence between the Wefer and the woods, leaving the Hamelen river on his right, the village of Hastenbeck in his front, and his left close to the wood, at the point of which his Royal Highness had a battery of twelve pounders and haubitzers. There was a hollow way from the left of the village to the battery, and a morafs on the other fide of Hastenbeck to his right Major-General Schulenberg, with the hunters, and two battalions of grenadiers, was posted in the corner of the wood upon the left of the battery; his Royal Highness ordered the village of Hastenbeck to be cleared to his front, to prevent its being in the power of the enemy to keep polfession of it, and the ways by which the allies had a communication with that village during their encampment to be rendered impaffable. In the evening he withdrew all his out-posts, and in this position the army lay upon their arms all night. On the twenty-fifth in the morning the French army marched forwards in columns, and began to cannonade the allies very feverely, marching and counter-marching continually, and feeming to intend three attacks, on the right, the left, and the centre. In the evening their artillery appeared much superior to that of the allies. The army was again ordered to lie all night on their arms; his Royal Highness caused a battery at the end of the wood to be repaired, Count Schulenberg to be re-enforced with a battalion of grenadiers, and two field pieces of cannon, and that battery to be also supported by four more battalions of grenadiers, under the command of Major-General Hardenberg. He likewise caused a battery to be erected of twelve and fix pounders, behind the village of Haftenbeck, and took all the precautions he could think of

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to give the enemy a warm reception. As foon as it was day-light he mounted on horse-back to reconnoitre the position of the enemy, whom he found in the same situation as the day before. At a little after five a very smart cannonading began against the battery behind the village, which was supported by the Hessian infantry and cavalry, who flood a most severe fire with surprising steadiness and resolution. Between seven and eight the firing of small arms began on the left of the allies, when his Royal Highness ordered Major-General Behr, with three battalions of Brunswick, to sustain the grenadiers in the wood, if their affistance should be wanted. The cannonading continued about fix hours, during which the troops that were exposed to it never once abated of their firmness. fire of the small arms on the left increasing, and the French seeming to gain ground, his Royal Highness detached the Colonels Darkenhausen and Bredenbach, with three Hanoverian battalions and fix squadrons, round the wood by Afferde, who, towards the close of the day, drove feveral fquadrons of the enemy back to their army, without giving them any opportunity to charge. At length the grenadiers in the wood, apprehensive of being furrounded, from the great numbers of the enemy that appeared there, and were marching round on that fide, though they repulfed every thing that appeared in their front, thought it adviseable to retire nearer the left of the army, a motion which gave the enemy an opportunity of possessing themselves of that battery without opposition. Here the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick distinguished himself at the head of a battalion of Volfenbuttel guards, and another of Hanoverians, who attacked and repulfed, with their bayonets, a superior force of the enemy, and retook the battery. But the French being in possession of an eminence which commanded and flanked both the lines of the infantry and the battery of the allies, and where they were able to support their attack under the cover of a hill, his Royal Highness, considering the superior numbers of the enemy, near double to his, and the L 2

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1757.

BOOK impossibility of dislodging them from their post, without exposing his own troops too much, ordered a retreat; in consequence of which his army retired, first to Hamelen. where he left a garrison, then to Nienburg, and after. wards to Hoya; in the neighbourhood of which town, after fending away all the magazines, fick, and wounded. he encamped, in order to cover Bremen and Verden, and to preferve a communication with Stade, to which place the archives, and most valuable effects of Hanover had been removed. In this engagement, Colonel Breden. bach attacked four brigades very strongly posted, with a battery of fourteen pieces of cannon, repulfed, and drove them down a precipice, and took all their artillery and ammunition; but preferring the care of his wounded to the glory of carrying away the cannon, he brought off only fix, nailing up and destroying the rest. The loss of the allies, in all these skirmishes, which lasted three days, was three hundred and twenty-feven men killed, nine hundred and feven wounded, and two hundred and twenty missing, or taken prisoners; whilst that of the French, according to their own accounts, amounted to fifteen hundred men.

6 XLV. The French, being left masters of the field, foon reduced Hamelen, which was far from being well fortified, obliged the garrifon to capitulate, and took out of the town fixty brafs cannon, feveral mortars, forty ovens, part of the equipage of the Duke's army, and large quantities of provisions and ammunition, which they found in it, together with a great many fick and wounded, who, not being included in the capitulation, were made prisoners of war. Whether the court of France had any reason to find fault with the conduct of the Marelchal d'Etrées, or whether its monarch was blindly guided by the councils of his favourite, the Marquise de Pompadour, who, defirous to testify her gratitude to the man who had been one of the chief instruments of her high promotion, was glad of an opportunity to retrieve his thattered fortunes, and, at the same time, to add to her

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own already immense treasure, we shall not pretend to CHAP. determine; though the event feems plainly to fpeak the last. Even at the time no comparison was made between the military skill of the Mareschal d'Etrees, and that of the Duke de Richelieu; but, however that may have been, this last, who, if he had not shone in the character of a foldier, excelled all, or at least most of his cotemporaries in the more refined arts of a courtier, was, just before the battle we have been speaking of, appointed to fuperfede the former in the command of the French army in Lower Saxony, where he arrived on the fixth of August, with the title of mareschal of France; and M. d'Etrees immediately refigned the command.

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&XLVI. Immediately after the battle of Haftenbeck, the French fent a detachment of four thousand men to lay under contribution the countries of Hanover and Brunfwick-Wolfenbuttel, as well as the duchies of Bremen and Verden; and two days after the arrival of this new commander, the Duke de Chevreuse was detached with two thousand men to take possession of Hanover itself, with the title of governor of that city. He accordingly marched thither; and upon his arrival the Hanoverian garrison was disarmed, and left at liberty to retire where they pleased. About the fame time M. de Contades, with a detachment from the French army, was fent to make himself master of the territories of Hesse-Cassel, where he found no opposition. He was met at Warberg by that prince's master of the horse, who declared, that they were ready to furnish the French army with all the fuccours the country could afford; and accordingly the magistrates of Cassel presented him with the keys as soon as he entered their city. Gottingen was ordered by M. d'Armentieres to prepare for him within a limited time, upon pain of military execution, four thousand pounds of white bread, two thousand bushels of oats, a greater quantity than could be found in the whole country, an hundred loads of hay, and other provisions.

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BOOK III. 1757.

& XLVII. The Duke of Cumberland remained encamped in the neighbourhood of Hoya till the twenty. fourth of August, when, upon advice that the enemy had laid two bridges over the Aller in the night, and had passed that river with a large body of troops, he ordered his army to march, to fecure the important post and passage of Rotenburg, lest they should attempt to march round on his left. He encamped that night at Hausen, having detached Lieutenant-General Oberg, with eight battalions and fix fquadrons, to Ottersberg, to which place he marched next day, and encamped behind the Wummer, in a very strong situation, between Ottersberg and Rotenburg. The French took possession of Verden on the twenty-fixth of August, and one of their detachments went on the twenty-ninth to Bremen, where the gates were immediately opened to them. The Duke of Cumberland, now closely pressed on all sides, and in danger of having his communication with Stade cut off, which the enemy was endeavouring to effect, by feifing upon all the posts round him, found it necessary to decamp again; to abandon Rotenburg, of which the French immediately took possession; to retreat to Selsingen, where his headquarters were, on the first of September; and from thence, on the third of the fame month, to retire under the cannon of Stade. Here it was imagined that his army would have been able to maintain their ground between the Aller and the Elbe, till the severity of the season should put an end to the campaign. Accordingly his Royal Highness, upon his taking this position, sent a detachment of his forces to Buck-Schantz, with some artillery, and orders to defend that place to the utmost: but as it could not possibly have held out many days, and as the French who now hemmed him in on all fides, by making themfelves masters of a little fort at the mouth of the river Zwinga, would have cut off his communication with the Eibe, so that four Englishmen of war then in that river could have been of no fervice to him, he was forced to accept of a mediation offered by the King of Denmark,

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by his minister the Count de Lynar, and to fign the famous CHAP. convention of Closter-Seven \*, by which thirty-eight thousand Hanoverians laid down their arms, and were disperfed into different quarters of cantonment.

1757-

## CHAP.

\* This remarkable capitulation, which we shall give here at full length, on account of the disputes that arose shortly after concerning what the French called an infraction of it, was to the following effect:

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"HIS Majesty the King of Denmark, touched with the distresses of the countries of Bremen and Verden, to which he has always granted his special protection; and being defirous, by preventing those countries from being any onger the theatre of war, to spare also the effusion of blood in the armies which are ready to dispute the possession thereof, hath employed his mediation by the ministry of the Count de Lynar. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, general of the army of the allies, on the one part, and his Excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, general of the King of France's forces in Germany, on the other, have, in confideration of the intervention of his Danish Majesty, respectively engaged their word of honour to the Count de Lynar, to abide by the convention hereafter stipulated; and he, the Count de Lynar, correspondently to the magnanimity of the King his master's intention, obliges himself to procure the guarantee mentioned in the present convention; so that it shall be fent to him, with his full powers, which there was no time to make out, in the circumstances which hurried his departure.

Article I. Hostilities shall cease on both sides within twenty-four hours, or sooner, if possible. Orders for this purpose shall be immediately sent to the detached corps.

II. The auxiliary troops of the army of the Duke of Cumberland, namely, hole of Hesse, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and even those of the Count de la Lippe-Buckbourg, shall be sent home: and as it is necessary to settle particuarly their march to their respective countries, a general officer of each naion shall be fent from the army of the allies, with whom shall be settled the oute of those troops, the divisions they shall march in, their subsistence on heir march, and their paffports to be granted them by his Excellency the Duke de Richelieu to go to their own countries, where they shall be placed and distributed as shall be agreed upon between the court of France and their respective sovereigns.

III. His Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland obliges himself to pass he Elbe, with fuch part of his army as he shall not be able to place in the city of Stade: That the part of his forces which shall enter into garrison in the aid city, and which it is supposed may amount to between four and six thouand men, shall remain there under the guarantee of his Majesty the King of Denmark, without committing any act of hostility: nor, on the other hand, hall they be exposed to any from the French troops. In consequence thereof, ommissaries, named on each side, shall agree upon the limits to be fixed

BOOK III.

round that place, for the conveniency of the garrison; which limits shall not extend beyond half a league or a league from the place, according to the nature of the ground or circumstances, which shall be fairly settled by the commissaries. The rest of the Hanoverian army shall go and take quarters in the country beyond the Elbe; and, to facilitate the march of those troops, his Excellency the Duke de Richelieu shall concert with a general officer sent from the Hanoverian army the route they shall take; obliging himself to give the necessary passports and security for the free passage of them and their baggage to the places of their destination; his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland reserving to himself the liberty of negociating between the two courts, for an extension of those quarters. As to the French troops, they shall remain in the rest of the duchies of Bremen and Verden, till the definitive reconciliation of the two sovereigns.

IV. As the aforefaid articles are to be executed as foon as possible, the Hanoverian army, and the corps which are detached from it, particularly that which is at Buck-Schantz, and the neighbourhood, shall retire under Stade in the space of eight-and-forty hours. The French army shall not pass the river Oste, in the duchy of Bremen, till the limits be regulated. It shall, besides, keep all the posts and countries of which it is in possession; and, not to retard the regulation of the limits between the armies, commissionists shall be nominated and sent on the 10th instant to Bremenworden, by his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, and his Excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, to regulate, as well the limits to be assigned to the French army, as those that are to be observed by the garrison at Stade, according to Art. III.

V. All the aforefaid articles shall be faithfully executed, according to their form and tenor, and under the faith of his Majesty the King of Denmark's guarantee, which the Count de Lynar, his minister, engages to procure.

Done at the camp at Closter-Seven, Sept. 8, 1757.

Signed WILLIAM.

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## SEPARATE ARTICLES.

UPON the representation made by the Count de Lynar, with a view to explain some dispositions made by the present convention, the following articles have been added:

I. It is the intention of his Excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, that the allied troops of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland shall be sent back to their respective countries, according to the form mentioned in the second article; and that as to their separation and distribution in the country, it shall be regulated between the courts, those troops not being considered as prisoners of war.

II. It having been represented that the country of Lunenberg cannot accommodate more than fifteen battalions and fix squadrons, and that the city of Stade cannot absolutely contain the garrison of fix thousand men allotted to it, his Excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu, being pressed by M. de Lynar, who supported this representation by the guarantee of his Danish Majesty, gives his consent, and his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland engages to cause fifteen battalions and fix squadrons to pass the Elbe; and the whole body of hunters, and the remaining ten battalions and twenty-eight squadrons shall be placed in the town of Stade, and the places

nearest

earest to it that are within the line, which shall be marked by posts from CHAP. the mouth of the Liche in the Elbe, to the mouth of the Elmerbeck in the iver Ofte; provided always that the faid ten battalions and twenty-eight quadrons shall be quartered there as they are at the time of figning this convention, and shall not be recruited under any pretext, or augmented in any afe; and this clause is particularly guaranteed by the Count de Lynar in the name of his Danish Majesty.

III. Upon the representation of his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland, that the army and the detached corps cannot both retire under Stade n eight-and-forty hours, agreeable to the convention, his Excellency the Mareschal Duke de Richelieu hath signified, that he will grant them proper ime, provided the corps encamped at Buck-Schantz, as well as the army encamped at Bremen-worden, begin their march to retire in four-andeventy hours after figning the convention. The time necessary for other arrangements, and the execution of the articles concerning the respective limits, shall be settled between Lieutenant-General Sporcken, and the Maruis de Villemar, first lieutenant general of the King's army.

Done, &c.

VII.

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## C H A P. VIII.

I. The French enter the Prussian dominions, where the commit great disorders. § II. Reflexions on the misconduct of the allied army. § III. Ruffun fleet blocks up the Pruffian parts in the Baltick. & IV. Ruffians take Memel. & V. Declaration of the King of Prussia on that occasion. § VI. Army of the Empire raised with difficulty. § VII. The Auftrians take Gabel. § VIII. And deftroy Zittau. § IX. The Prince of Pruffia leaves the army. § X. Communi. eation between England and Oftend broke off. Gueldres capitulates. § XI. Skirmisbes between the Prussians and Austrians. And between the Prussians and Russians. 6 XII. Marefchal Lehwald attacks the Ruffians in their entrenchments near Norkitten. § XIII. Hasty retreat of the Ruffians out of Pruffia. § XIV. French and Imperialifis take Gotha. & XV. Action between the Pruffians and Austrians near Goerlitz. § XVI. The French oblige Prince Ferdinand to retire. § XVII. Berlin laid under contribution by the Austrians; and Leipzig subjected to military execution by the Pruffians. § XVIII. Battle of Rofbach. § XIX. The Austrians take Schweidnitz; and defeat the Prince of Bevern near Breslaw. & XX. Marefehal Keith lays Bokemia under contribution. King of Pruffia defeats the Auftrians at Liffa; retakes Breflaw and Schweidnitz, and becomes master of all Silesia. § XXI. Profilities of the Swedes in Pomerania. § XXII. Marefebal Lebwald forces the Swedes to retire. § XXIII. Memorial presented to the Dutch by Col. Yorke, relative to Oftend and Nicuport. § XXIV. King of Pruffia's letter to the King of Great-Britain. His Britannick Majesty's declaration. § XXV. Disputes concerning the convention of Closter-Seven. § XXVI. Progress of the Hanoverian army. XXVII. Death of the Queen of Poland. Transactions at fea. § XXVIII. Fate of Captain Death. § XXIX. Sellion

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Seffion opened. § XXX. Supplies granted. § XXXI. Funds for raising the supplies. § XXXII. Message from the King to the House of Commons. & XXXIII. Second treaty with the King of Prussia. § XXXIV. Bill for fortifying Milford-Haven. Regulations with respect to corn. § XXXV. Bills for the encouragement of Seamen, and for explaining the militia act. § XXXVI. Act for repairing London-Bridge. § XXXVII. Act for afcertaining the qualification of voting. § XXXVIII. Bill for more effectually manning the navy. § XXXIX. Amendments in the Habeas-Corpus act. § XL. Scheme in favour of the Foundling Hospital. § XLI. Proceedings relative to the African company. § XLII. Seffion closed. § XLIII. Vigorous preparations for war. Death of the Princess Caroline. § XLIV. Sea engagement off Cape Francois. Remarkable success of Captain Forest. § XLV. French evacuate Embden. Success of Adm. Osborne. French fleet driven ashore in Basque road. § XLVI. Adm. Broderick's ship burnt at sea. § XLVII. Descent at Cancallebay. § XLVIII. Expedition against Cherbourg. § XLIX. Descent at St. Maloes. S. L. English defeated at St. Cas. § LI. Captures from the enemy. § LII. Clamours of the Dutch merchants, on account of the capture of their ships. & LIII. Their famous petition to the States-General.

I. THE Hanoverians being now quite subdued, CHAP. and the whole force of the French let loofe ainst the King of Prussia by this treaty, Mareschal chelieu immediately ordered Lieutenant-General Berini to march with all possible expedition, with the troops der his command to join the Prince de Soubise: the ns-d'armes, and other troops that were in the landgraate of Heffe-Caffel, received the same order; and fixty ttalions of foot, and the greatest part of the horse benging to the French army, were directed to attack the ullian territories. Mareschal Richelieu himself arrived Brunswick on the fifteenth of September; and having, a few days after, affembled an hundred and ten battalions.

VIII. 1757.

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND

BOOK III. lions, and an hundred and fifty squadrons, with an hundred pieces of cannon, near Wolfenbuttel, he entered the King of Prussia's dominions with his army on the 27th, 28th, and 29th of the same month, in three columns, which penetrated into Halberstadt and Brandenburg, plundering the towns, exacting contributions, and committing many enormities, at which their general is said to have connived. In the mean time, the Duke of Cumberland returned to England, where he arrived on the 11th of October, and shortly after resigned all his military commands.

& II. Had the allied army, after the battle of Hastenbeck, marched directly to the Leine, as it might eafily have done, and then taken post on the other side of Wolfen. buttel, Halberstadt, and Magdeburgh, it might have waited securely under the cannon of the latter place for the junction of the Prussian forces; instead of which, they injudiciously turned off to the Lower Weser, retiring fuccessively from Hamelen to Nienburg, Verden, Rothenburgh, Buxtchude, and lastly to Stade, where, for want of fublistence and elbow room, the troops were all made prisoners of war at large. They made a march of an hundred and fifty miles to be cooped up in a nook, inflead of taking the other route, which was only about an hundred miles, and would have led them to a place of fafety. By this unaccountable conduct, the King of Prussia was not only deprived of the affiftance of near forty thousand good troops, which, in the close of the campaign, might have put him upon an equality with the French and the army of the Empire; but also exposed to, and actually invaded by his numerous enemies on all fides, infomuch that his fituation became now more dangerous than ever; and the fate which feemed to have threatened the Empress a few months before, through his means, was, to all appearance, turned against himself. His ruin was predicted, nor could human prudence foresee how he might be extricated from his complicated diffress; for, besides the invasion of his territories by the French under the Duke de Richelieu, the Ruffians, who had made for a

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long time a dilatory march, and feemed uncertain of their CHAP. own refolutions, all at once quickened their motions, and entered ducal Pruffia under Mareschal Apraxin and Gegeral Fermor, marking their progress by every inhumanity that unbridled cruelty, lust, and rapine can be imagined capable of committing. A large body of Austrians entered Silefia, and penetrated as far as Breslau: then, urning back, they laid siege to the important fortress of Schweidnitz, the key of that country. A fecond body entered Lusatia, another quarter of the Prussian territories, and made themselves masters of Zittau. Twenty-two thousand Swedes penetrated into Prussian Pomerania, took the towns of Anclam and Demmin, and laid the whole country under contribution. The army of the Empire, re-enforced by that of Prince Soubife, after many delays, was at last in full march to enter Saxony; and this motion left the Austrians at liberty to turn the greatest part of their forces to the reduction of Silefia. An Auftrian general, penetrating through Lufatia, paffed by the Prussian armies, and suddenly presenting himself before the gates of Berlin, laid the whole country under contribution; and though he retired on the approach of a body of Prussians, yet he still found means to interrupt the communication of these last with Silesia. The Prussians, it is true, exerted themselves bravely on all sides, and their enemies fled before them; but whilst one body was pursuing another gained upon them in some other part. The winter approached, their strength decayed, and their adverfaries multiplied daily. Their king harraffed, and almost fpent with incessant fatigue both of body and of mind, was in a manner excluded from the Empire. The greatest part of his dominions were either taken from him, or laid under contribution, and possessed by his enemies; who collected the publick revenues, fattened on the contributions, and with the riches which they drew from the electorate of Hanover, and other conquests, defrayed the expences of the war; and by the convention of Closter-Seven he was deprived of his allies, and left without any affistance

BOOK III. 1757assistance whatever, excepting what the British parliament might think fit to fupply. How different is this picture from that which the King of Prussia exhibited when he took arms to enter Saxony! But, in order to form a clear idea of these events, of the situation of his Prussian Ma. jesty, and of the steps he took to defeat the designs of his antagonists, and extricate himself from his great and nu. merous diffresses, it will be proper now to take a view of the feveral transactions of his enemies, as well during his stay in Bohemia, as from the time of his leaving it, down

to that which we are now speaking of.

& III. Whilst the King of Prussia was in Bohemia, the Empress of Russia ordered notice to be given to all masters of ships, That if any of them were found affisting the Prussians, by the transportation of troops, artillery, and ammunition, they should be condemned as legal prizes: and her fleet, confifting of fifteen men of war and frigates, with two bomb ketches, was fent to block up the Prussian ports in the Baltick, where it took feveral ships of that nation, which were employed in carrying provisions and merchandife from one port to another. One of these ships of war appearing before Memel, a town of Poland, but fubject to Prussia, the commandant sent an officer to the captain, to know whether he came as a friend or an enemy; to which interrogation the Russian captain replied, That, notwithstanding the dispositions of the Empress of both the Russias were sufficiently known, yet he would further explain them, by declaring that his orders, and those of the other Russian commanders, were, in conformity to the laws of war, to feise on all the Prussian veffels they met with on their cruise. Upon which the commandant of Memel immediately gave orders for pointing the cannon to fire upon all Russian ships that should approach that place.

§ IV. The land-forces of the Russians had now lingered on their march upwards of fix months; and it was pretty generally doubted, by those who were supposed to have the best intelligence, whether they ever were defigned

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really to pass into the Prushan territories, not only on account of their long stay on the boarders of Lithuania, but also because several of their Cossacks had been severely punished for plundering the waggons of some Prushan peasants upon the frontiers of Courland, and the damage of the peasants compensated with money, though General Apraxin's army was at the same time greatly distressed by the want of provisions; when, on a sudden, they quickened their motions, and showed they were, in earnest, determined to accomplish the ruin of Prussa. Their sirts act of hostility was the attack of Memel, which surrendered; and by the articles of capitulation it was agreed, that the garrison should march out with all the honours of war, after having engaged not to serve against the Empress, or any of her allies, for the space of one year.

§ V. His Prussian Majesty, justly foreseeing the great enormities that were to be expected from these savage enemies, who were unaccustomed to make war, except upon nations as barbarous as themselves, who looked upon war only as an opportunity for plunder, and every country through which they happened to march as their's by right of conquest, published the following declaration:—" It is sufficiently known, that the King of Prussia, after the example of his glorious predecessors, has, ever since his accession to the crown, laid it down as a maxim to seek the friendship of the imperial court of Russia, and cultivate it by every method. His Prussian Majesty hath had the fatisfaction to live, for feveral fuccessive years, in the brickest harmony with the reigning Empress; and this happy union would be still subsisting, if evil-minded potentates had not broke it by their fecret machinations, and carried things to fuch a height, that the ministers on both ides have been recalled, and the correspondence broken off. However melancholy these circumstances might be for the King, his Majesty was nevertheless most attentive o prevent any thing that might increase the alienation of the Russian court. He hath been particularly careful, during the disturbances of the war that now unhappily

BOOK III. 1757. rages, to avoid whatever might involve him in a different with that court, notwithstanding the great grievances he hath to alledge against it; and that it was publickly know the court of Vienna had at last drawn that of Rusha into its destructive views, and made it serve as an instrument for favouring the schemes of Austria. His Majesty hat given the whole world incontestable proofs, that he wa under an indispensable necessity of having recourse to the measures he hath taken against the courts of Vienna and Saxony, who forced him by their conduct to take up arm for his defence. Yet, even fince things have been brough to this extremity, the King hath offered to lay down hi arms, if proper fecurities should be granted to him. H Majesty hath not neglected to expose the artifices by which the imperial court of Russia hath been drawn into mea fures so opposite to the Empress's sentiments, and which would excite the utmost indignation of that great princes if the truth could be placed before her without disguis The King did more: he fuggested to her Imperial Ma jesty sufficient means either to excuse her not taking an part in the present war, or to avoid, upon the juste grounds, the execution of those engagements which the court of Vienna claimed by a manifest abuse of obligations which they employed to palliate their unlawful views It wholly depended upon the Empress of Russia to es tinguish the flames of the war, without unsheathing the fword, by purfuing the meafures fuggefted by the King This conduct would have immortalised her reign through out all Europe. It would have gained her more lasting glory than can be acquired by the greatest triumph The King finds with regret, that all his precautions an care to maintain peace with the Russian empire are fruit less, and that the intrigues of his enemies have prevailed His Majesty sees all the considerations of friendship and good neighbourhood fet afide by the Imperial court Russia, as well as the observance of its engagements with his Majesty. He sees that court marching its troops through the territories of a foreign power, and, contrary to the tend

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of treaties, in order to attack the King in his dominions: and thus taking part in a war, in which his enemies have involved the Russian empire. In such circumstances, the King hath no other part to take, but to employ the power which God hath entrusted to him in defending himself, protecting his subjects, and repelling every unjust attack. His Majesty will never lose sight of the rules which are observed, even in the midst of war, among civilifed nations. But if, contrary to all hope and expectation, these rules should be violated by the troops of Russia, if they commit in the King's territories disorders and excesses disallowed by the laws of arms, his Majesty must not be blamed if he makes reprisals in Saxony: and if, instead of that good order and rigorous discipline which have hitherto been observed by his army, avoiding all forts of violence, he finds himself forced, contrary to his inclination, to fuffer the provinces and subjects of Saxony to be treated in the fame manner as his own territories shall be treated. As to the rest, the King will soon publish to the whole world the futility of the reasons alledged by the imperial court of Russia to justify its aggression; and as his Majesty is forced upon making his defence, he has room to hope, with confidence, that the Lord of hofts will bless his righteous arms, that he will disappoint the unjust enterprises of his enemies, and grant him his powerful affistance, to enable him to make head against them."

§ VI. When the King of Prussia was put under the ban of the empire, the several princes who compose that body were required, by the decree of the Aulick council, as we observed before, to surnish their respective contingents against him. Those who seared him looked upon this as a fair opportunity of reducing him; and those who stood in awe of the house of Austria were, through necessity, compelled to support that power which they dreaded. Besides, they were accustomed to the influence of a family, in which the empire had, for a long time, been in a manner hereditary; and were also intimidated by the appearance of a confederacy, the most formidable, perhaps, that the world had Vol. IV.

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ever feen. Yet, notwithstanding all this, the contingents. both of men and money, were collected flowly; the troops were badly composed; and many of those, not only of the protestant princes, but also of the catholicks, showed the utmost reluctance to act against his Prussian Majesty, which, indeed, none of them would have been able to do. had it not been for the affiftance of the French under the Prince de Soubife. The Elector-Palatine lost above a thousand men by desertion. Four thousand of the troops belonging to the Duke of Wirtemberg being delivered to the French commissary on the twenty-fourth of June, were immediately reviewed; but the review was scarcely finished, when they began to cry aloud, that they were fold. Next morning thirty of them deferted at once, and were foon followed by parties of twenty and thirty each, who forced their way through the detachments that guarded the gates of Stutgard, and in the evening the mutiny became general. They fired upon the officers in their barracks, and let their general know, that if he did not immediately withdraw, they would put him to death. Mean while, some of the officers having purfued the deferters, brought back a part of them prisoners, when the rest of the foldiers declared, that if they were not immediately released, they would set fire to the stadthouse and barracks; upon which the prisoners were fet at liberty late in the evening. Next morning the foldiers affembled, and having feifed fome of the officers, three or four hundred of them marched out of the town at a time, with the musick of the regiments playing before them; and in this manner near three thousand of them filed off, and the remainder were afterwards discharged.

§ VII. The King of Prussia, upon his leaving Bohemia, after the battle of Kolin, retired towards Saxony, as we observed before; and having sent his heavy artillery and mortars up the Elbe to Dresden, fixed his camp on the banks of that river, at Leitmeritz, where his main army was strongly entrenched, whilst Mareschal Keith, with the troops under his command, encamped on the opposite

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shore; a free communication being kept open by means of CHAP. a bridge. At the fame time detachments were ordered to fecure the passes into Saxony. As this position of the King of Prussia prevented the Austrians from being able to penetrate into Saxony by the way of the Elbe, they moved, by flow marches, into the circle of Buntzlau, and, at last, with a detachment commanded by the Duke d'Aremberg and M. Macguire, on the eighteenth of June fell fuddenly upon, and took, the important post at Gabel, situated between Boemish-Leypa, and Zittau, after an obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison, under Major-General Putkammer, confifting of four battalions, who were obliged to furrender prisoners of The Austrians having by this motion gained a march towards Lufatia, upon a corps which had been detached under the command of the Prince of Prussia to watch them, his Prussian Majesty thought proper to leave Leitmeritz on the twentieth in the morning, and lay that night at Lickowitz, a village opposite to Leitmeritz, of which a battalion of his troops still kept possession, while the rest of his army remained encamped in the plain before that place. Next morning, at break of day, Prince Henry decamped, and made fo good a disposition for his retreat, that he did not lose a single man, though he marched in fight of the whole body of Austrian irregulars. He passed the bridge at Leitmeritz, after withdrawing the battalion that was in the town, and having burnt the bridge, the whole army united, and made a small movement towards the passes of the mountains; the King then lying at Sulowitz, near the field where the battle of Lowoschutz was fought on the first of October of the preceding year. The heavy baggage was fent on in the afternoon, with a proper escorte; and in the morning of the twenty-second the army marched in two columns, and encamped on the high grounds at Lufechitz, a little beyond Lenai, where it halted the twentythird. No attack was made upon the rear-guard, though great numbers of Austrian hussars, and other irregulars,

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BOOK had appeared the evening before within cannon-shot of the Prussian camp. On the twenty-fourth the army marched to Nellendorf; on the twenty-fifth it encamped near Cotta; on the twenty-fixth near Pirna, where it halted the next day; and on the twenty-eighth it croffed the river near that place, and entered Lusatia, where, by the end of the month, it encamped at Bautzen.

> 6 VIII. The King's army made this retreat with all the fuccess that could be wished; but the corps under the Prince of Prussia had not the same good fortune: for the Austrians, immediately after their taking Gabel, fent a strong detachment against Zittau, a trading town in the circle of Upper-Saxony, where the Prussians had large magazines, and a garrison of fix battalions, and, in his fight, attacked it with uncommon rage. Paying no regard to the inhabitants as being friends or allies, but determined to reduce the place before the King of Prussia could have time to march to its relief, they no fooner arrived before it, than they bombarded and cannonaded it with fuch fury, that most of the garrison, finding themselves unable to refift, made their escape, and carried off as much as they could of the magazines, leaving only three or four hundred men in the town, under Colonel Diricke, to hold it out as long as possible; which he accordingly did, till the whole place was almost destroyed. The cannonading began on the twenty-third of July, at eleven in the morning, and lasted till five in the evening. In this space of time four thousand balls, many of them red-hot, were fired into this unfortunate city, with fo little intermission, that it was soon set on fire in feveral places. In the confusion which the conflagration produced, the Austrians entered the town, and the inhabitants imagined that they had then nothing further to fear; and that their friends, the Austrians, would affift them in extinguishing the flames, and faving the place: but in this particular their expectations were disappointed. The Pandours and Sclavonians, who rushed in with the regular troops, made no distinction between the Prussians and the inhabitants of Zittau: instead of helping to quench the

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the flames, they began to plunder the warehouses which CHAP. the fire had not reached; fo that all the valuable merchandife they contained was either carried off or reduced to ashes. Upwards of fix hundred houses, and almost all the publick buildings, the cathedrals of St. John and St. James, the orphan-house, eight parsonage-houses, eight schools, the town-house, and every thing contained in it, the publick weigh-house, the prison, the archives, and all the other documents of the town-council, the plate, and other things of value, presented to the town from time to time by emperors, kings, and other princes and noblemen, were entirely destroyed, and more than four hundred citizens were killed in this affault. Of the whole town there was left standing only one hundred and thirty-eight houses, two churches, the council, library, and the falt-work. The Queen of Poland was so affected by this melancholy account, that she is faid to have fainted away upon hearing it. As this city belonged to their friend the King of Poland, the Austrians thought proper to publish an excuse for their conduct. ascribing it entirely to the necessity they were under, and the obstinate defence made by the Prussian garrison. But what excuses can atone for such barbarity?

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§ IX. The corps under the Prince of Prussia, which had been witnesses to the destruction of this unhappy place, was, by the King's march to Bautzen, fortunately extricated from the danger of being furrounded by the Austrians, who, upon his Majesty's approach, retired from their posts on the right. Soon after this event the Prince of Prussia, finding his health much impaired by the fatigues of the campaign\*, quitted the army, and returned to

<sup>\*</sup> This was the reason that was publickly affigned for his quitting the army: but a much more probable one, which was only whispered, seems to have been, that this prince, than whom none ever was more remarkable for humanity and the focial virtues, difliking the violent proceedings of the king his brother, could not refrain from expostulating with him on that subject : upon which his Majesty, with an air of great disapprobation, told him, "That the air of Berlin would be better for him than that of the camp." The Prince accordingly retired to Berlin, where he died foon after; grief and concern for the welfare of his brother, and for the steps taken by him, having no small share in his death.

B O O K III. Berlin. In the mean time, Mareschal Keith, who had been left upon the frontier, to guard the paffes of the mountains of Bohemia, arrived at Pirna, having been much harraffed in his march by the enemy's irregular troops, and lost some waggons of provisions and baggage. After resting a day at Pirna, he pursued his march through Dresden with twenty battalions and forty squadrons, and encamped on the right of the Elbe, before the gate of the new city, from whence he joined the King between Bautzen and Gorlitz. The Prussian army now reassembled at this place amounted to about fixty thousand men. besides twelve battalions and ten squadrons which remained in the famous camp at Pirna, under the Prince of Anhalt-Deffau, to cover Dresden, secure the gorges of the mountains, and check the incursions of the Austrian irregulars, with whom, as they were continually flying about the fkirts of the Prussian army, as well in their encampments as on their marches, almost daily skirmishes happened, with various fuccess. Though some of these encounters were very bloody, they cost the Prussians much fewer men than they loft by defertion fince the battle of Kolin. The reason feems obvious:—The Prussian army had been recruited, in times of peace, from all parts of Germany; and though this way of recruiting may be very proper in fuch times, yet it cannot be expected to answer in a state of actual war, especially an unfortunate war: because the fidelity of fuch foldiers can never be so much depended on as that of natives, who ferve their natural fovereign from principle, and not merely for pay, and who must defert their country, their parents, and their friends, at the fame time that they defert their prince.

§ X. It will be proper here to take notice of some events, which could not easily be mentioned before without breaking through the order we have proposed to ourselves in the writing of this history.—The Empresa-Queen, more embittered than ever against the King of Prussia and his allies, recalled her ministers, Count Coloredo and Mons. Zohern, from London, towards the beginning of

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July; and about the same time Count Kaunitz, great chancellor of the empire, informed Mr. Keith, the British minister at Vienna, that the court of London, by the succours it had given, and still continued to give, the King of Pruffia, as well as by other circumstances relating to the present state of affairs, having broken the solemn engagements which united this crown with the house of Austria, her Majesty the Empress-Queen had thought proper to recall her minister from England, and confequently to break off all correspondence. Mr. Keith, in pursuance of this notice, set out from Vienna on the twenty-nineh of July; as did also Mr. Desrolles, his Britannick Majesty's minister at the court of Brussels, from this last place, about the same time. On the seventh of July, General Pifa, commandant of Oftend, Nieuport, and the maritime ports of Flanders, fent his adjutant to the English vice-conful at Ostend, at fix o'clock in the morning, to tell him, that by orders from his court all communication with England was broke off; and defired the viceconful to intimate to the pacquet-boats and British shipping at Oftend, Bruges, and Nieuport, to depart in twenty-four hours, and not to return into any of the ports of the Empress-Queen till further dispositions should be made. The reasons alledged by the court of Vienna for debarring the subjects of his Britannick Majesty from the use of these ports, obtained for the house of Austria by the arms and treasures of Great Britain, were, "That her Imperial Majesty, the Empress-Queen, could not, with indifference, fee England, instead of giving the succours due to her by the most folemn treaties, enter into an alliance with her enemy the King of Prussia, and actually afford him all manner of affiftance, affembling armies to oppose those which the Most Christian King, her ally, had fent to her aid, and fuffering privateers to exercise open violence in her roads, under the cannon of her ports and coasts, without giving the least satisfaction or answer to the complaints made on that account; and the King of Great-Britain himself, at the very time she was offering him

B O O K III.

him a neutrality for Hanover, publishing by a message to his parliament, that she had formed, with the Most Christian King, dangerous designs against that electorate: therefore, her Majesty, desirous of providing for the fecurity of her ports, judged it expedient to give the forementioned orders; and at the same time to declare. that she could no longer permit a free communication between her subjects and the English, which had hitherto been founded upon treaties that Great-Britain had, without scruple, openly violated."-Notwithstanding these orders, the English pacquet-boats, with letters, were allowed to pass as usual to and from Oftend; the ministers of her Imperial Majesty wisely considering how good a revenue the postage of English letters brings in to the postoffice of the Austrian Netherlands. Oftend and Nieuport, by order of her Imperial Majesty, received each of them a French garrison; the former on the nineteenth of July, and the latter the next day, under the command of M. de la Motte, upon whose arrival the Austrian troops evacuated those places; though the Empress-Queen still referved to herfelf, in both of them, the full and free exercise of all her rights of sovereignty; to which purpose an oath was administered to the French commandant by her Majesty's minister-plenipotentiary for the government of the Low Countries. At the fame time, their Imperial and Most Christian Majesties notified to the magistracy of Hamburgh, that they must not admit any English men of war, or transports, into their port, on pain of having a French garrison imposed on them. The city of Gueldres, which had been blocked up by the French ever fince the beginning of fummer, was forced by famine to capitulate on the twenty-fourth of August, and the garrison marched out with all the honours of war, in order to be conducted to Berlin; but so many of them deferted, that when they passed by Cologn, the whole garrison consisted only of the commandant, and forty-feven men. furrender of this place the whole country lay open to the French and their allies quite up to Magdebourg; and the EmpressImpressand crow

ØXI. ating to he Prin he tenth ar troop hem to of canno n the m urround Prussian by furp in the wounde oulsed 1 were bu which I been un of war. that cou master kensteir places, On the ffembl burghan rom th the Im lready Hanau most ex

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Impress-Queen immediately received two hundred thouand crowns from the revenues of Cleves and la Marcke lone.

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& XI. To return to the affairs more immediately reating to the King of Prussia. The advanced posts of he Prince of Anhalt-Dessau at Pirna were attacked on the tenth of August by a body of hustars, and other irreguar troops of the Austrians; but the Prussians soon obliged them to retire, with the loss of several men and two pieces of cannon. On the nineteenth of the fame month, early n the morning, a great number of Austrian Pandours jurrounded a little town called Gotliebe, in which a Prussian garrison was quartered, with a design to take it by furprife. The Pandours attacked it on all fides, and in the beginning killed twenty-three Prussians, and wounded many; but the Pruffians having rallied, repulsed the affailants with great loss. These, however, were but a fort of preludes to much more decifive actions which happened foon after. Silefia, which had hitherto been undisturbed this year, began now to feel the effects of war. Baron Jahnus, an Austrian colonel, entering that country with only an handful of men, made himfelf master of Hirschberg, Waldenberg, Gottesburg, Frantenstein, and Landshut. They were, indeed, but open places, and he was repulfed in an attempt upon Strigau. On the fide of Franconia the army of the empire was fembling with all speed, under the Prince of Saxe-Hildburghausen; the French were marching a second army rom their interior provinces into Alface, in order to join he Imperialists: the first division of their troops had lready entered the empire, and were advanced as far as Hanau. The Swedes were now preparing, with the utnost expedition, to send a numerous army into Pomerania; and the Russians, who, since the taking of Memel, had not done the King of Prussia much damage, besides that of obliging him to keep an army in Prussia to oppose them, and interrupting the trade of Koningsberg by their squadrons, were again advancing with hafty strides towards

Prussia,

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Prusha, marking their steps with horrid defolation Field-Marefchal Lehwald, who had been left in Prulla, with an army of thirty thousand men, to guard that king. dom during the absence of his master, was encamped near Velau, when the Ruffians, to the number of eighty thou. fand, after taking Memel, advanced against the territories of the Prushan King, whose situation now drew upon him the attention of all Europe. In the night between the feventh and eighth of August, Colonel Malachowski, one of Mareschal Lehwald's officers, marched to reconnoite the position of the enemy, when a skirmish happened which lasted near two hours, between his advanced ranks and a Russian detachment, three times stronger than the Prussians. The Russians were repulsed, and fled into the woods, after having fifty men killed, and a great number wounded. The Prussians lost but one man, and had four teen wounded.

& XII. Several other little skirmishes happened between straggling parties of the two armies; and the Russans went on pillaging and laying waste every thing before them, till at length the two armies having approached one another in Brandenburgh-Prussia, Mareschal Leb wald, finding it impossible to spare detachments from h fmall a number as his was, compared to that of the enemy to cover the wretched inhabitants from the outrages committed on them by the Russian Cossacks, and other barba rians belonging to them, judged it absolutely necessary w attack their main army, and accordingly, notwithstanding his great disadvantage in almost every respect, he resolved to hazard a battle on the thirtieth of August. sians, consisting, as we before observed, of eighty there fand regulars, under the command of Mareschal Aprasia avoiding the open field, were entrenched in a most at vantageous camp near Norkitten, in Prussa. Their arm was composed of four lines, each of which was guarded by an entrenchment, and the whole was defended two hundred pieces of cannon, batteries being placed upol all the eminences. Mareschal Lehwald's army scarce

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mounted to thirty thousand men. The action began at CHAP. ive in the morning, and was carried on with fo much viour, that the Prussians entirely broke the whole first line f the enemy, and forced all their batteries. The Prince of Holstein-Gottorp, brother to the King of Sweden, at he head of his regiment of dragoons, routed the Ruffian avalry, and afterwards fell upon a regiment of grenaiers, which was cut to pieces; but when the Prussians ame to the fecond entrenchment, Mareschal Lehwald, eeing that he could not attempt to carry it without exofing his army too much, took the refolution to retire. The Prussians returned to their former camp at Velau, nd the Rushans remained in their present situation. The loss of the Prussians, little exceeding two thousand illed and wounded, was immediately replaced out of the disciplined militia. The Russians lost a much greater General Lapuchin was wounded and taken number. prisoner, with a colonel of the Russian artillery, but the ormer was fent back on his parole. The Prussian army ad, at first, made themselves masters of above eighty jeces of cannon, but were afterwards obliged to abandon hem, with eleven of their own, for want of carriages. hree Rushan generals were killed; but the Prussians lost o general or officer of distinction, of which rank Count Johna was the only one that was wounded.

§ XIII. After this engagement, Mareschal Lehwald hanged the position of his army, by drawing towards eterswald, and the Russians, after remaining quite indive till the thirteenth of September, on a sudden, to the reat surprise of every one, retreated out of Prussia, with uch precipitation, that they left all their fick and wounded chind them, to the amount of fifteen or fixteen thousand nen, together with eighty pieces of cannon, and a confierable part of their military stores. Mareschal Apraxin hasked his design by advancing all his irregulars towards he Prussian army; so that Mareschal Lehwald was not nformed of it till the third day, when he detached Prince corge of Holstein with ten thousand horse to pursue

them;

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BOOK them; but with little hopes of coming up with them, as they made forced marches, in order to be the fooner in their own country. However, the Prussians took some of them prisoners, and many stragglers were killed by the country people in their flight towards Tilsit, which they abandoned, though they still kept Memel, and shortly after added some new fortifications to that place. They made their retreat in two columns, one of which directed in course towards Memel; whilst the other took the nearest way through the bailiwick of Absternen, and threw bridges over the river Jura. Both columns burnt every village they passed through without distinction. The Prussians were obliged to defift from the pursuit of these barbarians, because the bridges thrown over the river Memel had been destroyed by the violence of the stream. The Russian army fuffered greatly for want of bread, as all the countries were ruined through which it passed, so that they could procure no fort of subfiftence but herbage and rye bread All the roads were strewed with dead bodies of men and horses. The real cause of this sudden retreat is a great a mystery as the reason of their stopping so long the year before on the borders of Lithuania; though the occasion of it is said to have been the illness of the Czarina, who was feifed with a kind of apoplectick fit, and had made fome new regulation in case of a vacancy of the throne, which rendered it expedient that the regular forces should be at hand, to support the measures taken by the government.

& XIV. The King of Prussia, after remaining for some time encamped between Bautzen and Goerlitz, removed his head-quarters to Bernstedel; and on the fifteenth of August his army came in fight of the Austrian camp, and within cannon shot of it: upon which the Austrians struck their tents, and drew up in order of battle before their camp. The King formed his army over against them, and immediately went to reconnoitre the ground between the armies; but, as it was then late, he deferred the more exact examination of that circumstance till the

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ext day. The two armies continued under arms all ight. Next morning, at break of day, the King found he Austrians encamped with their right at the river Veille; the rest of their army extended along a rising round, at the foot of a mountain covered with wood, hich protected their left, and before their front, at the ottom of the hill on which they were drawn up, was a mall brook, passable only in three places, and for no more nan four or five men a-breast. Towards the left of heir army was an opening, where three or four battalions night have marched in front: but behind it they had laced three lines of infantry, and on a hill which flanked his opening, within musket-shot, were placed four thouand foot, with forty or fifty pieces of cannon; fo that, reality, this was the strongest part of their camp. The ling left nothing undone to bring the Austrians to a batle; but finding them absolutely bent on avoiding it, after ving four days before them, he and his army returned to heir camp at Bernstedel. They were followed by some of the enemy's huffars and Pandours, who, however, had not the fatisfaction to take the smallest booty in this rereat. The Austrian army, which thus declined engaging, was, by their own account, an hundred and thirty thouand strong, more than double the number of the King of Prussia, who, the day he returned to Bernstedel, after he had retired about two thousand yards, again drew up his army in line of battle, and remained fo upwards of an hour, but not a man stirred from the Austrian camp. The army of the Empire, commanded by the Prince of baxe-Hildburghausen, and that of the French under the rince de Soubise, making together about fifty thousand men, half of which were French, had by this time joined, and advanced as far as Erfurth in Saxony; upon which his Prussian Majesty, finding that all his endeavours could not bring the Austrians to an engagement, set out from Lusatia, accompanied by Mareschal Keith, with sixteen battalions and forty squadrons of his troops, and arrived at Dresden on the twenty-ninth of August, leaving the

rest

BOOK III. 1757. rest of the army in a strong camp, under the Prince of Be. vern. With this detachment, which, by the junction of several bodies of troops, amounted to about forty thousand men, he made a quick march, by the way of Leipzig, towards Erfurth, to give battle to the united army of the French and the Empire. But by the time he arrived at Erfurth, which was on the fourteenth of September, the enemy had retreated towards Gotha; and upon his further approach, they retired to Eyesenach, where the entrenched themselves in a very strong camp. His Ma. jesty's head-quarters were at Kirschlaben, near Erfurth, While the two armies were thus fituated, Major-General Seydelitz, who occupied the town of Gotha, being informed, on the nineteenth, that a large body of the enemt was coming towards him, and that it confifted of two regiments of Austrian hustars, one regiment of French huffars, and a detachment made up of French grenadien, troops of the army of the Empire, and a great number of Croats and Pandours, retired, and posted himself at some distance. The enemy immediately took possession of the town and castle; but General Seydelitz, having been reenforced, attacked the enemy with fuch vigour, that he foon obliged them to abandon their new conquest, and to retire with great precipitation; a report having been fpread, that the Prussian army was advancing against them, with the King himself in person. The Prussian hustars took a confiderable booty on this occasion, and General Seydelitz fent prisoners to the camp one lieutenantcolonel, three majors, four lieutenants, and fixty-two foldiers of the enemy, who had also about an hundred and thirty killed. After this action his Pruffian Majesty advanced near Eyesenach, with a design to attack the combined army; but they were so strongly entrenched that he found it impracticable. His provisions falling short, he was obliged to retire towards Erfurth, and foon after to Naumburgh on the river Sala; whereupon the combined army marched, and again took possession of Gotha, Ir.

rth, and on after & XV. he Austria er, and m ft there. d two bat art of the igh grou orff, in th epulsed se he emine on both fi nuch by eeded the General V o the bat cannon, Generals Elrickhau vounded Marquis ook fix 1 colours, ind forme he Prin comman baffed the o Buntz Breslau, army of his arriv lide of t the forti new wo advantag ans rem made at rth, and Weimar; which last place, however, they

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on after quitted.

§ XV. Upon the King of Prussia's leaving Bernstedel,
he Austrians took possession of it on the sixth of Septemer, and made prisoners a Prussian battalion which had been
eft there. The next day sisteen thousand Austrians attackd two battalions of General Winterfield's troops, being

fart of the Prince of Bevern's army, who were posted on a high ground on the other side of the Neiss, near Hennersdorff, in the neighbourhood of Goerlitz; and, after being repulsed several times, at last made themselves masters of

the eminence. The loss, in this action, was considerable on both sides, but greatest on that of the Prussians, not so

much by the number of their flain, which fearcely exteeded that of the Austrians, as by the death of their brave

General Winterfield, who, as he was leading up fuccours to the battalions that were engaged, received a shot from cannon, of which he died the night following. The

Generals Nadasti and Clerici, Count d'Arberg, Colonel Elrickhausen, and several other officers of distinction, were wounded, and the young Count of Groesbeck and the

Marquis d'Afque killed, on the fide of the Austrians, who ook fix pieces of the Prussian cannon, fix pair of their colours, and made General Kemeke, the Count d'Anhalt,

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and some other officers, prisoners. After this skirmish, the Prince of Bevern, with the Prussian army under his command, retreated from Goerlitz to Rotenberg, then

passed the Queiss at Sygersdorff, from whence he marched to Buntzlau, in Silesia, and on the first of October reached Breslau, without suffering any loss, though the numerous

army of the Austrians followed him for some days. Upon his arrival there, he chose a very strong camp on the other side of the Oder, in order to cover the city of Breslau, to

the fortifications of which he immediately added feveral new works. Though neither side had any very signal advantage in this engagement, more than that the Austri-

ans remained masters of the field, yet great rejoicings were made at Vienna on account of it. The death of Gene-

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ral Winterfield was, indeed, an irreparable loss to his Prussian Majesty, who received at the same time the news of this misfortune, and of the Swedes having now actually begun hostilities in Pomerania.

6 XVI. A body of the French, who, let loose against the King of Prussia by the ever-memorable and shameful convention of Closter-Seven, had entered the territories of Halberstadt and Magdeburgh, were worsted at Eglen by a party of fix hundred men, under the command of Count Horn, whom Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick had detach ed from a body of troops with which his Prussian Majelly had fent him to defend those countries. The Prussians took prisoners the Count of Lufignan, colonel, eighteen other French officers, and four hundred foldiers, and made themselves masters of a considerable booty in baggage, & with the loss of only two men; and, moreover, a French officer and forty men were made prisoners at Halberstad Upon this check the French evacuated the country of Halberstadt for a little while, but returning again on the twenty-ninth of September, with a confiderable re-en forcement from Mareschal Richelieu's army, which now could eafily spare, Prince Ferdinand was obliged retire to Winsleben, near the city of Magdeburgh. The dangers which had been hitherto kept at a distance from the Prussian dominions, by the surprising activity of the king, now drew nearer, and menaced them on all fide Mareschal Richelieu, with eighty battalions and an hu dred squadrons, entered the country of Halberstadt, an levied immense contributions; whilst the allied army the French and Imperialists, being joined by fix thoulan men under General Laudohn, who had just defeated regiment of Prussian cavalry near Erfurth, marched Weissenfels, a city in the very centre of Thuringia. Swedes had actually taken fome towns in Pomerania, and were advancing to besiege Stetin, and the Austrians, w had made themselves masters of Lignitz, and a confidence able part of Silesia, had now laid siege to Schweidnit and were preparing to pass the Oder, in order to atta the Primean to incurful Pruffia ments and fer a body himfelf Interbermore a

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the Prince of Bevern in his camp near Breslau. In the mean time, they made frequent, and always destructive incursions into Brandenburgh; to oppose which his Prussian Majesty ordered detachments from all his regiments in those parts to join the militia of the country, and sent the Prince of Anhalt Dessau from Leipzig, with a body of ten thousand men, to guard Berlin, whilst he himself marched with the troops under his command to Interbeck, on the frontier of the Lower Lusatia, to be the more at hand to cover Brandenburgh, and preserve the communication with Silesia.

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& XVII. While these precautions were taking, General Haddick, with fifteen or fixteen thousand Austrians, entered Brandenburgh on the fixteenth of October, and the next day arrived before Berlin, of which city he demanded a contribution of fix hundred thousand crowns. but contented himfelf with two hundred and ten thousand. The Austrians pillaged two of the suburbs, but before they could do any further mischief they were obliged to retire in great haste, at the approach of the Prince of Anhalt Desfau, whose van-guard entered the city in the evening of their departure. This alarm, however, obliged the Queen and the royal family of Prussia to remove to Magdeburgh on the twenty-third; and the most valuable records were fent to the fort of Spandau, at the conflux of the Havel and the Sphre. On the other hand, the unfortunate inhabitants of Leipzig now felt most severely the cruel effects of the power of their new master. Prussian commandant in that city had, by order of his King, demanded of them three hundred thousand crowns, a sum far greater than it was in their power to raise. This truth they represented, but in vain. The short time allowed them to furnish their contingents being expired, and all their efforts to comply with this demand having proved ineffectual, they were subjected to the rigours of military execution; in consequence of which their houses were occupied by the foldiery, who seised upon the best apartments, and lived at discretion; but Vol. IV.

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the fum demanded could not be found. Such was the fituation of this diffressed city, when, on the fifteenth of October, an express arrived, with advice that his Prussian Majesty would soon be there; and accordingly he arrived a few minutes after, attended by his life-guards. At the fame time, a rumour was spread that the city would be delivered up to pillage, which threw the inhabitants into the utmost consternation. Their fears, however, in that respect were soon abated, by his Majesty's declaring that he was willing to fpare the place, upon condition that half the fum required should be immediately paid. All that could be done was to collect among the merchants, traders, and others, fifty thousand crowns; bills of Exchange were drawn upon Amsterdam and London for feventy thousand crowns, and hostages were given, by way of fecurity, for the payment of thirty thousand more within a time which was agreed on. But still, notwithftanding this, the military execution was continued, even with greater rigour than before, and all the comfort the wretched inhabitants could obtain was, that it should cease whenever advice should be received that their bills were accepted.

§ XVIII. The King of Prussia had tried several times to bring the combined army under the Princes Saxe-Hildburghausen and Soubise to an engagement upon fair ground; but finding them bent on declining it, notwithstanding the superiority of their numbers, he had recourse to one of those strokes in war, by which a general is better feen than by the gaining of a victory. He made a feint, foon after the beginning of October, as if he intended nothing more than to fecure his own dominions, and march his army into winter-quarters back to Berlin, leaving Mareschal Keith, with only seven or eight thousand men, to defend Leipzig. Upon this the enemy took courage, passed the Sala, and having marched up to the city, summoned the Mareschal to surrender, to which he answered, That the King, his mafter, had ordered him to defend the place to the last extremity, and he would obey his orders.

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The enemy then thought of befieging the city; but, before they could prepare any one implement for that purpofe, they were alarmed by the approach of the King of Prussia, who, judging that his feint would probably induce them to take the step they did, had, by previous and private orders, collected together all his diftant detachments, some of which were twenty leagues afunder, and was advancing, by long marches, to Leipzig; upon notice of which the enemy repassed the Sala. The Prussian army was reassembled on the twenty-seventh of October, and remained at Leipzig the twenty-eighth and twenty-ninth, when every body expected a battle would be fought in the plains of Lutzen. On the thirtieth the King drew nigh that place, and on the thirty-first, in his way through Weissenfels and Meresbourg, he made five hundred men prisoners of The combined army had repassed the Sala at Weiffenfels, Meresbourg, and Halle, where they broke down the bridges, but these were soon repaired, and the whole Prussian army, amounting to no more than twenty thoufand men, having paffed that river, through these towns, in each of which they left a battalion, joined again on the third of November, in the evening, over-against the enemy, whose forces consisted of forty thousand French, and twenty-five thousand Imperialists. On the fifth, about nine o'clock in the morning, the Pruffians received intelligence that the enemy were every where in motion. They likewise heard the drums beating the march, and, so near were the two armies to each other, plainly perceived from their camp, that their whole infantry, which had drawn nearer upon the rifing grounds over against them, was filing off towards their right. No certain judgement could, however, yet be formed of the enemy's real defign, and, as they were in want of bread, it was thought probable that they intended to repass the Unstrut: but it was foon perceived that their feveral motions were contradictory to each other. At the fame time that fome of their infantry were filing off towards their right, a large body of cavalry wheeled round towards their left, directBOOK III.

ing its march all along to the rifing grounds with which the whole Pruffian camp, that lay in a bottom between the villages of Rederow and Rosbach, was surrounded, within the reach of large cannon. Soon after that, the cavalry were feen to halt, and afterwards to fall back to the right; though some of them still remained where they were, whilst the rest marched back. About two in the afternoon the doubts of the Pruffians were cleared up; it plainly appearing then that the enemy intended to attack them, and that their dispositions were made with a view to furround them, and to open the action by attacking them in the rear. A body of referve was posted over against Rederow, to fall upon their routed troops, in case they should be defeated, and to prevent their retiring to Mereflourg, the only retreat which could then have been left them. In this fituation the King of Prussia refolved to attack them. His Majesty had determined to make the attack with one wing only, and the disposition of the enemy made it necessary that it should be the lest wing. The very inftant the battle was going to begin, his Majesty ordered the general who commanded the right wing to decline engaging, to take a proper position in consequence thereof, and, above all, to prevent his being furrounded. All the cavalry of the right wing of the Prussians, except two or three squadrons, had already marched to the left at full gallop; and being arrived at the place affigned them, they formed over against that of the enemy. They then moved on immediately, the enemy's advanced to meet them, and the charge was very fierce, feveral regiments of the French coming on with great resolution. The advantage, however, was entirely on the fide of the Prussians. The enemy's cavalry being routed, were purfued for a confiderable time with great fpirit, but having afterwards reached an eminence, which gave them an opportunity of rallying, the Prussian cavalry fell upon them afresh, and gave them so total a defeat, that they fled in the utmost disorder. This happened at four in the afternoon. Whilst the cavalry of the Prussians charged

charg them but th nonad hour, try be valour their l ther, did in advand met w it, by The f right, wing i five the the end as ther faid, th which took tl and th mornin King o them w grenadi The en Pruffian bridge, ever, w not con the hill them th

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charged, their infantry opened. The enemy cannonaded CHAP. them briskly during this interval, and did some execution, but the Pruffian artillery was not idle. After this cannonading had continued on both fides a full quarter of an hour, without the least intermission, the fire of the infantry began. The enemy could not ftand it, nor refift the valour of the Prussian foot, who gallantly marched up to their batteries. The batteries were carried one after another, and the enemy were forced to give way, which they did in great confusion. As the left wing of the Prussians advanced, the right changed its position, and having foon met with a fmall rifing ground, they availed themselves of it, by planting it with fixteen pieces of heavy artillery. The fire from thence was partly pointed at the enemy's right, to increase the disorder there, and took their left wing in front, which was excessively galled thereby. At five the victory was decided, the cannonading ceased, and the enemy fled on all fides. They were purfued as long as there was any light to diffinguish them, and it may be faid, that night alone was the preservation of this army, which had been fo formidable in the morning. took the benefit of the darkness to hurry into Frylurgh, and there to repass the Unstrut, which they did on he morning of the fixth, after a whole night's march. King of Prussia set out early in the morning to pursue them with all his cavalry, supported by four battalions of grenadiers, the infantry following them in two columns. The enemy had paffed the Unstrut at Fryburgh, when the Prussians arrived on its banks, and as they had burnt the bridge, it became necessary to make another, which, however, was foon done. The cavalry passed first, but could not come up with the enemy till five in the evening, upon the hills of Eckersberg. It was then too late to force them there, for which reason the King thought proper to canton his army in the nearest villages, and to be satisfied with the fuccess his hussars had in taking near three hundred baggage-waggons, and every thing they contained. The whole loss of the Prussians, in this important engage-

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BOOK ment, did not exceed five hundred men killed and wounded. Among the former was General Meincke, and among the latter Prince Henry and General Sevde. litz. The enemy lost fixty-four pieces of cannon, a great many standards and colours, near three thousand men killed on the field of battle, and upwards of eight thousand taken prisoners, among whom were several generals, and other officers of diffinction. Three hundred waggons were fent to Leipzig, laden with wounded French and Swifs. Upon the approach of the Pruffians towards Eckersberg, the enemy retreated with great precipitation; and, after marching all night, arrived the next day at Erfurth, in the utmost want of every necessary of life, not having had a morfel of bread for two days, during which they had been obliged to live upon turneps, radishes, and other roots, which they dug out of the earth. The French, under the Duke de Richelieu, were preparing to go into winter-quarters; but, upon the news of this defeat of the combined army, they again put themselves in motion, and a large detachment of them advanced as far as Duderstadt, to favour the retreat of their countrymen under the Prince de Soubife, who, with great precipitancy, made the best of their way from Erfurth to the county of Hohenstein, and from thence bent their march towards Halberstadt. Of the remains of the Imperial army, which was now almost entirely dispersed, whole bodies deserted, and went over to the King of Prussia, soon after this battle.

of XIX. Whilst his Prussian Majesty was thus successful against the French and Imperialists, the Austrians, who had carefully avoided coming to an open engagement with him, gained ground a-pace in Silesia. A detachment of their army, under the command of Count Nadasti, had already invested Schweidnitz, and opened the trenches before it on the twenty-fixth of October. The Prussian garrison, commanded by General de la Motte Fouquet, determined to defend the place as long as possible; and accordingly on the thirtieth they made a fally, in which they killed, wounded, and took prisoners, eight hundred

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of the befiegers, and did fome damage to their works; but CHAP. on the fixth of November the Austrians began to cannonade the city furiously, and on the eleventh made themfelves mafters of the ramparts by affault. The garrison. however, having taken care, during the fiege, to throw up a strong entrenchment in the market-place, retreated thither, and held out till the next day, when they furrendered themselves prisoners of war. After the reduction of this place, General Nadasti, leaving in it a sufficient garrison, marched with the remainder of his troops, and joined the main army of the Austrians, under the command of Prince Charles of Lorraine and Mareschal Daun, who, whilst he was busied in the siege of Schweidnitz, had invested Breflau on the left of the Oder; the Prince of Bevern defending it on the right, where he was strongly encamped, with his little army, under the cannon of the city. whole army of the Austrians being now reassembled, and intelligence having been brought, not only of the King of Prussia's late victory near Leipzig, but also that he was advancing to the relief of the Prince of Bevern, it was refolved immediately to attack the last in his entrenchments. Accordingly, on the twenty-fecond of November, about nine in the morning, the Austrians began a most furious discharge of their cannon, forty of which were twenty-four pounders, and this continued without ceasing till one, when it was succeeded by a severe fire of their small arms, which lasted till five in the evening. The Prussians, with undaunted resolution, stood two of the most violent attacks that were ever made, but at the third, overpowered by numbers, and affailed on both fides, they began to lose ground, and were forced to retire from one entrenchment to another. In this extremity, night coming on, the Prussian generals fearing their entrenchments would be entirely forced, and that they should then be totally defeated, thought proper to retreat. The Prince of Bevern, with the greatest part of the army, retired to an eminence on the banks of the Oder, whilst the rest of the troops threw themselves into Breslau, which they might

BOOK III. might have defended, in all probability, till the King had come up to its relief. But, on the twenty-fourth, their commander in chief, the Prince of Bevern, going to reconnoitre the enemy, with only a fingle groom to attend him, fell in among a party of Croats, who took him prifoner\*. His army, thus deprived of their general, re. treated northward that night, leaving in Breslau only four battalions, who, the next day, furrendered the place by capitulation, one of the articles of which was, that they should not serve against the Empress, or her allies, for two years. All the magazines, chefts, artillery, &c. remained in the hands of the Austrians. The garrison marched out with all military honours, conducted by General Lefwitz. governor of Breslau. Though the Austrians sung Te Deum for this victory, they owned that fuch another would put an end to their army, for it cost them the lives of twelve thousand men; a number almost equal to the whole of the Prussian army before the battle. They had four almost inaccessible intrenchments to force, planted thick with cannon, which fired cartridge-shot from nine in the morning till the evening, and the Pruffians, when attacked, were never once put into the least confusion. Among the flain, on the fide of the Austrians, were General Wurben, and feveral other officers of distinction. The lofs of the Pruffians did not much exceed three thoufand men, in killed, wounded, and prisoners, of which

\*We are told, that he mistook these Croats for Prussian hussars. But some of the circumstances of this mysterious assair were interpreted into a premeditated design in the Prince to be taken prisoner. It cannot otherwise be supposed that a man of his rank, a prince, a commander in chief, should officiously undertake the always dangerous task of reconnoiting the enemy, with so slight an attendance as only one man, and that but a groom, even if he had judgedit necessary to see things with his own eyes. Some secret distatisfaction, hitherto unknown to us, may possibly have been the cause of his taking this step; or, which seems still more probable, he might be assamed, or, perhaps, even assaid to see the King his master, after having so injudiciously abandoned the desence of Breslau, by quitting his lines, which, it is afferted, his Prussian Majesty hadsent him express orders not to quit on any account whatever, for that he would certainly be with him by the fifth of December, in which we shall find he kept his word.

aft there Kleist was 6 XX. T nothing v no longe French ar the fifth marched Silefia, a at Naum the Bob Keith, w he Aust Bohemia to raise Leitmer His Maj with w Barchw at Schw four tho ordered comma garrison escape King u inferio

\* Whichey charmated be them, whireed, the corps of freed the which wern. The not have this luci

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of there were about fixteen hundred. Their General CHAP. Kleist was found dead on the field of battle.

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6 XX. The King of Prussia, who, like Cæsar, thought nothing was done while any thing was left undone, staid no longer at Rosbach than till the routed forces of the French and Imperialifts, whom he had defeated there on the fifth of November, were totally dispersed. Then he marched directly with the greatest part of his army for Silefia, and on the twenty-fourth of that month arrived at Naumburg on the Queifs, a little river which runs into the Bobber, having in his route detached Mareschal Keith, with the rest of his army, to clear Saxony from all the Austrian parties, and then to make an irruption into Bohemia, a fervice which he performed fo effectually as to raise large contributions in the circles of Satz and Leitmeritz, and even to give an alarm to Prague itself. His Majesty reserved for himself only fifteen thousand men, with whom he advanced, with his usual rapidity, to Barchwitz, where, notwithstanding all that had happened at Schweidnitz and at Breslau, he was joined by twentyfour thousand more; part of them troops which he had ordered from Saxony, part the remains of the army lately commanded by the Prince of Bevern, and part the late garrison of Schweidnitz, which had found means to escape from the Austrians, and accidentally joined their King upon his march\*. With this force, though greatly inferior in number to that of the enemy, he refolved to attack the Austrians, who were entrenched at Lissa near

\* Whilst the Austrians were conducting them to prison, on their route they chanced to hear of the victory their master had gained at Rosbach. Animated by these tidings, they unanimously rose upon the escort that guarded them, which, happening not to be very strong, they entirely dispersed. Thus freed, they marched on, not very certain of their way, in hopes to rejoin some corps of the Prussian troops, their countrymen. The same fortune which freed them led them directly to the army commanded by the King himfelf, which was haftening to their relief, as well as to that of the Prince of Bevern. This unexpected meeting was equally pleasing to both, the prisoners not having heard any thing of his Majesty's march; and, at the same time, this lucky incident, whilst it added a considerable strength to the army, added likewise to its confidence, for the flightest occurrence is construed into an omen, y an army at the eve of an engagement.

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Breslau. On the fourth of December he seised upon their ovens at Neumarck, and upon a confiderable magazine guarded by two regiments of Croats, who retired to a rifing ground, where his Majesty ordered his hustars to furround them, and fend a trumpet to fummon them to furrender themselves prisoners of war. Upon their refusal, the huffars of Zithen fell upon them fabre in hand, and fome hundreds of them having been cut in pieces, the rest threw down their arms, begging for quarter on their knees, After this feifure, and after having distributed to his army the bread prepared for his enemies, he began again the next morning his march towards Liffa. General Zithen, who led the vanguard of light horse, about seven in the morning fell in with a body of Austrian hussars, and three regiments of Saxon dragoons, which were the very best cavalry the enemy had left after the battle of the twenty. fecond. They had been detached by the Austrians, in order to retard the King's march, and to conceal their own, till their batteries should be completed; for, as they held the small number of the Prussians in contempt, their intention was to have met the King two German miles from their entrenchments. The Austrian cavalry having been yigorously repulsed to a considerable distance, General Zithen perceived that their whole army was forming. He immediately acquainted the King with what he had discovered, and his Majesty, after having himself observed the disposition of the enemy, made his own with that sagacity and dispatch for which he has always been remarkable. The action began by attacking a battery of forty pieces of large cannon, which covered the right wing of the enemy. The two battalions of guards, with the regiments of the Margrave Charles and of Itzenplitz, marched up, amidst a most terrible fire, to the very mouths of the cannon, with their bayonets screwed. In this attack the Prussians sustained their greatest loss, though the battery was carried as foon almost as they could reach it: then the enemy's artillery, now turned against themselves, played furiously upon them with their own powder.

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From that instant the two wings and the centre of the Prussians continued to drive the enemy before them, adrancing all the time with that firm and regular pace for which they have always been renowned, without ever halting or giving way. The ground which the Austrians occupied was very advantageous, and every circumstance that could render it more so had been improved to the utmost by the diligence and skill of Count Daun, who, remembering his former fuccefs, was emboldened to enter the lifts again with his royal antagonist. The Prussians, however, no way terrified by the enemy's fituation, nor their numbers, went calmly and dreadfully forward. It was almost impossible, in the beginning, for the Prussian cavalry to act, on account of the impediments of fallen trees, which the enemy had cut down and laid in the field of battle, to retard their approach; but a judicious dispofition which the King made overcame that disadvantage. When he first formed his army, he had placed four battalions behind the cavalry of his right wing, forefeeing that General Nadasti, who was placed with a corps of referve on the enemy's left, defigned to take him in flank. It happened as he had foreseen, this general's horse attacked the King's right wing with great fury: but he was received with fo severe a fire from the four battalions, that he was obliged to retire in diforder. The enemy gave way on all fides, but at some distance recovered themselves, and rallied three times, animated by their officers, and by the superiority of their numbers. Every time they made a stand, the Prussians attacked them with redoubled vigour, and with fuccess equal to their bravery. Towards night, the enemy, still retreating, fell into diforder. Their two wings fled in confusion; one of them, closely pressed by the King, retired towards Breslau, and took shelter under the cannon of that city; the other, pursued by the greatest part of the light cavalry, took their flight towards Canth and Schweidnitz. Six thoufand Austrians fell in this engagement, and the Prussians, who had only five hundred men killed, and two thousand three

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BOOK three hundred wounded, made upwards of ten thousand of the enemy prisoners, among whom were two hundred and ninety-one officers. They also took an hundred and fixteen cannon, fifty-one colours and standards, and four thousand waggons of ammunition and baggage. The confequences that followed this victory declared its im. portance. Future ages will read with aftonishment, that the fame prince, who but a few months before feemed on the verge of inevitable ruin, merely by the dint of his own abilities, without the affiftance of any friend whatever, with troops perpetually harraffed by long and painful marches, and by continual skirmishes and battles, not only retrieved his affairs, which almost every one except him. felf thought past redress; but, in the midst of winter, in countries where it was judged next to impossible for any troops to keep the field at that season, conquered the united force of France and the Empire at Rosbach on the fifth of November, and on the same day of the very next month, with a great part of the fame army, was at Liffa, where he again triumphed over all the power of the house of Austria. Pursuing his advantage, he immediately invested Breslau, and within two days after this great victory every thing was in readiness to beliege it in form. His troops, flushed with fuccess, were at first for storming it, but the King, knowing the strength of the garrison, which confisted of upwards of thirteen thousand men, and considering both the fatigues which his own foldiers had lately undergone, and the fatal consequences that might ensue, should they fail of success in this attempt, ordered the approaches to be carried on in the usual form. His commands were obeyed, and Breslau surrendered to him on the twentieth of December in the morning. The garrison, of which ten thousand bore arms, and between three and four thousand lay sick or wounded, were made prisoners of war. Fourteen of these prisoners were officers of high rank. The military cheft, a vast treasure, with eighty pieces of cannon, fell into the hands of the victors, who lost only about twenty men in their approaches. During the fiege, 1

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magazine of powder was fet on fire by a bomb, which CHAP. occasioned great confusion among the besieged, and damaged one of the bastions. The strong fortress of Schweidnitz still remained in the enemy's possession, deended by a garrifon fo numerous, that it might be compared to a small army, and whilst that continued so, the King of Prussia's victories in Silesia were of no decisive ffect. For this reason, though it was now the dead of winter, and the foldiers stood in need of repose, his Maesty resolved, if possible, to become master of that place efore the end of the year; but as a close siege was impracticable, a blockade was formed, as strictly as the rigour of the feafon would permit\*. It was not, however, till he beginning of the enfuing campaign that this place was aken. The Prussians opened their trenches before it on he third of April, one thousand seven hundred and fiftyeight, and erected two large batteries, which kept a coninual fire upon the town. The artillery of the befiegers confifted of three hundred pieces of cannon, of different dimensions, and eighty mortars; an amazing artillery, and fuch as we have never heard of in former campaigns. On the night of the fourteenth, the Prussians carried one of the chief works by affault, and lodged themselves therein; the commandant capitulated the next day, with the garrison, which was now greatly reduced in number, being not half of what it amounted to at the beginning of the blockade. Thus, all the parts of Silesia which the King of Prussia had lost by one unfortunate blow fell again into his possession; and his affairs, which but a few months before feemed irretrievable, were now re-established upon a firmer basis than ever. The Prussian parties not only re-possessed themselves of those parts of Silesia which beonged to their king, but penetrated into the Austrian di-

vision, reduced Jagerndorf, Troppau, Tretchen, and

feveral

<sup>\*</sup> Such was the rigour of the feafon, that fome hundreds of the featinels ropped down dead on their several posts, unable to sustain the severity of the old. The Germans lie under the general reproach of paying very little regard the lives of their foldiers, and indeed this practice of winter-campaigns in uch a cold country bespeaks very little regard to the dictates of humanity.

BOOK III. feveral other places, and left the Empress-Queen scarce any footing in that country, in which, a few days before, she reckoned her dominion persectly established.

& XXI. The Swedes, after many debates between their king and fenate, had at length refolved upon an open declaration against the King of Prussia, and, in confe. quence of that refolution, fent so many troops into Po. merania, that, by the end of August, their army in that country amounted to twenty-five thousand men. Their first act of hostility was the seisure of Anclam and Demmin, two towns that lay in the way to Stetin, against which their principal defign was levelled. But before they proceeded farther, General Hamilton, their commander, by way of justifying the conduct of his master, published a declaration, fetting forth, "That the King of Sweden, as guarantee of the treaty of Westphalia, could not help fending his troops into the upper part of the duchy of Pomerania belonging to the King of Pruffia; and that, therefore, all the officers appointed to receive the publick revenue in that country must pay what money they had in their hands to him, who was commissioned to receive it for his Swedish Majesty: That, moreover, an exact account was required, within eight days, of the revenues of the country; but that no more than ordinary contributions would be demanded of the inhabitants, who might rest assured that the Swedish troops should obferve the strictest discipline." After this declaration they attacked the little fortress of Penemunde, upon the river Pene, and on the twenty-third of September, after a fiege of nine days, obliged the garrifon, which confifted only of militia, to furrender themselves prisoners of war. This alternative the commanding officer chose, rather than engage not to serve for two years, observing, that such an engagement was inconfistent with his honour, whilst his prince had to much occasion for his fervice; and the Swedish general, touched with this noble way of thinking, was, on his part, fo generous as to give him his liberty. On the other

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other hand, General Manteuffell, who commanded the pruffian forces then in Pomerania, amounting to twelve thousand men, with whom he was encamped before Stetin, to cover that place, published in answer to this a declaration, enjoining the inhabitants of Pomerania to remain faithful to the King of Prussia, their lawful sovereign, under pain of incurring his just indignation, and absolutely forbidding them to pay any regard to the Swedish manifesto.

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XXII. In the mean time, Mareschal Lehwald, immediately after the battle of Norkitten, when the Rushans began their retreat, detached Prince George of Holstein-Gottorp, with a confiderable body of forces, to the relief of Pomerania; and, shortly after, the Russian forces having totally evacuated every part of Prussia, except Memel, and most of them being actually gone into winter-quarters, he himself followed, with an additional re-enforcement of fixteen thousand men. Upon his approach, the Swedes, who were then encamped at Ferdinandshoff, and had begun to fill up the harbour of Swinnemunde, by way of previous preparation for the fiege of Stetin, retired with such precipitation, that they did not allow themselves time to draw off a little garrison they had at Wollin, confisting of two hundred and ten men. who were made prisoners of war. Demmin was cannonded by the Prussians on the twenty-ninth of December; nd the Swedes having loft one officer and forty men, deired to capitulate. As, in order to ease the troops, it was not thought proper to continue the fiege in fo sharp a cason, their request was granted, and they had leave to etire with two pieces of cannon. The Prussians took offession of the town on the second day of January, fter the Swedes had, on the thirtieth of December, likevise given up Anclam, where the conquerors took an undred and fifty prisoners, and found a considerable magazine of provisions and ammunition. chwald then passed the Pene, entered Swedish Pomeania, and reduced Gutzkow, Loitz, Tripfus, and Ne-

C H A P. VIII. 1757B O O K III. bringen. At the same time, Lieutenant-General Schor. lemmer passed with his corps from the isle of Wollin into the ifle of Usedom, and from thence to Wolgast, the Swedes having abandoned this town, as well as Schwine. munde, and the fort of Penemunde. The Prince of Holstein advanced as far as Grimm and Grieffswalde, and the Swedes, losing one town after another, till they had nothing left in Pomerania but the port of Stralfund, continued retreating till they had reached this last place. The French party in Sweden, to comfort the people, called this retreat, or rather flight, going into winter. quarters. The Prussian husfars were not idle wherever they penetrated; for, befides plundering and pillaging, they raised a contribution of an hundred and fixty thousand crowns in Swedish Pomerania. The Mecklenburghers, who had joined the Swedes with fix thousand of their troops, now found cause to repent of their forwardness, being left quite exposed to the refentment of the victors, who chaftised them with the most severe exactions. The army of the Swedes, though they did not fight a battle, was, by fickness, defertion, and other accidents, reduced to half the number it confifted of when they took the field. The Landgrave of Heffe-Caffel, foon after his territories were invaded by the French, in confequence of their advantage in the affair of Hastenbeck, had applied to the King of Sweden, as one of the guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, desiring him to employ his good offices with the court of France, to obtain a more favourable treatment for his dominions: but his Swedish Majesty, by the advice of the fenate, thought proper to refuse complying with this request, alledging, that as the crown of Sweden was one of the principal guarantees of the treaty of Westphalia, it would be highly improper to take sucha step, in favour of a prince who had not only broke the laws and conftitutions of the empire, in refusing to furnish his contingent, but had even affifted with his troops 2 The Aulick power known to be its declared enemy. council too, feeing, or pretending to fee, the behaviour of

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the Landgrave in the same light, issued a decree against

his Serene Highness towards the end of this year.

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CHAP.

6 XXIII. The court of Great-Britain, justly displeased with the Dutch, on account of the extreme facility with which they had granted the French a free passage through Namur and Maestricht for their provisions, ammunition, and artillery, in the beginning of this campaign, had very properly remonstrated against that step, before it was absolutely resolved on, or at least declared to be so: but in vain; a pufillanimous answer being all the fatisfaction that was obtained. The tameness and indifference with which the States-General had fince feen Oftend and Nieuport put into the hands of the French drew upon their High Mightinesses a further remonstance, which was delivered to them on the twenty-eighth of November of this year by Colonel Yorke, his Britannick Majesty's plenipotentiary at the Hague, in the following terms, well calculated to awaken in them a due sense of their own danger, as well as to evince the injustice of the proceedings of the house of Austria:—" Considering the critical fituation which Europe has been in during the course of this year, in consequence of measures concerted to embroil all Europe, the King of Great-Britain was willing to flatter himself that the courts of Vienna and Versailles, out of regard to the circumfpect conduct observed by your High Mightinesses, would have at least informed you of the changes they have thought proper to make in the Austrian Netherlands. It was with the utmost surprise the King heard, that without any previous consent of your's, and almost without giving you any notice, the court of Vienna had thought proper to put the towns of Oftend and Nieuport into the hands of the French troops, and to withdraw her own, as well as her artillery and Itores, whilft France continues to fend thither a formidable quantity of both. The conduct of the court of Vienna towards his Majesty is indeed so unmerited and so extraordinary, that it is difficult to find words to express it: but whatever fallacious pretexts she may have made use of

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to palliate her behaviour towards England, it doth not appear that it can be extended so far as to excuse the infringement, in concert with France, of the most solemn treaties between her and your High Mightinesses. The King never doubted that your High Mightinesses would have made proper representations to the two courts newly allied, to demonstrate the injustice of such a proceeding, and the danger that might afterwards result from it. Your High Mightinesses will have perceived that your filence on the first step encouraged the two courts, newly allied, to attempt others; and who can fay where they will stop? The pretext at first was, the need which the Empress-Queen stood in of the troops for the war kindled in the empire, and the necessity of providing for the safety of those important places, and afterwards of their imaginary danger from England. But, High and Mighty Lords, it is but too evident that the two powers, who have taken these measures in concert, have other projects in view, and have made new regulations with regard to that country, which cannot but alarm the neighbouring states. The late demand made to your High Mightinesses, of a passage for a large train of warlike implements through fome of the barrier towns, in order to be fent to Oftend and Nieuport, could not fail to awaken the King's attention. The fincere friendship, and parity of interests, of Great-Britain and Holland require that they should no longer keep filence, lest, in the iffue, it should be considered as a tacit confent, and as a relinquishment of all our rights. The King commands me, therefore, to recall to your High Mightinesses the two-fold right you have acquired to keep the Austrian Netherlands under the government of the house of Austria; and that no other has a title to make the least alteration therein, without the consent of your High Mightinesses; unless the new allies have refolved to fet aside all prior treaties, and to dispose at pleasure of every thing that may suit their private interest. In the treaty between your High Mightinesses and the crown of France, figned at Utrecht on the eleventh of April

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CHAP VIII.

April, one thousand seven hundred and thirteen, in the fifteenth article, are these words: 'It is also agreed, that no province, fort, town, or city of the faid Netherlands, or of those which are given up by his Catholick Majesty, shall ever be ceded, transferred, or given, or shall ever devolve to the crown of France, or any prince or princefs of the house or line of France, either by virtue of any gift, exchange, marriage-contract, fuccession by will, or by any other title whatever, to the power and authority of the Most Christian King, or of any prince or princess of the house or line of France.' In the barrier-treaty these very stipulations are repeated in the first article: 'His Imperial and Catholick Majesty promifes and engages, that no province, city, town, fortress, or territory of the said country shall be ceded, transferred, given, or devolve to the crown of France, or to any other but the fuccessor of the German dominions of the House of Austria, either by donation, sale, exchange, marriage-contract, heritage, testamentary succession, nor under any other pretext whatsoever; so that no province, town, fortress, or territory of the said Netherlands shall ever be subject to any other prince, but to the fuccessor of the states of the House of Austria alone, excepting what has been yielded by the present treaty to the faid lords the States-General.' A bare reading of these two articles is sufficient to evince all that I have just represented to your High Mightinesses: and whatever pretext the courts of Vienna and Versailles may alledge, to cover the infraction of these treaties, the thing remains nevertheless evident, whilst these two courts are unable to prove that the towns of Oftend and Nieuport are not actually in the power of France. If their defigns are just, or agreeable to those treaties, they will doubtless not scruple, in the least, to make your High Mightinesses eafy on that head, by openly explaining themselves to a quiet and pacifick neighbour, and by giving you indifputable proofs of their intentions to fulfil the stipulations of the faid two treaties, with regard to the Netherlands.

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BOOK The King hath fo much confidence in the good fense. prudence and friendship of your High Mightinesses, that he makes not the least doubt of your taking the most eff. cacious measures to clear up an affair of such importance: and of your being pleased, in concert with his Majesty. to watch over the fate of a country, whose situation and independence have, for more than a century, been regarded as one of the principal supports of your liberty and commerce." It does not appear that this remonstrance had the defired effect upon the States-General, who were apprehensive of embroiling themselves with an enemy so remarkably alert in teking all advantages. The truth is, they were not only unprepared for a rupture with France, but extremely unwilling to forego the commercial profits which they derived from their neutrality.

&XXIV. The King of Prussia, about this period, began to harbour a suspicion that certain other powers longed eagerly to enjoy the fame respite from the dangers and inconveniencies of war, and that he ran the rifque of being abandoned by his fole patron and ally, who feemed greatly alarmed at his defeat in Bohemia, and desirous of detaching himself from a connexion which might be productive of the most difagreeable consequences to his continental interest. Stimulated by this opinion, his Prussian Majesty is said to have written an expostulatory letter\* to the K— of G —— B —, in which he very plainly taxes that monarch with having

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\* The letter, which was written in French, we have translated, for the reader's fatisfaction.

"I am informed that the defign of a treaty of neutrality for the elector rate of H-r is not yet laid aside. Is it possible that your M-y can have so little fortitude and constancy, as to be dispirited by a fmall reverse of fortune? Are affairs so ruinous, that they cannot be repaired! I hope your M-y will confider the step you have made me hazard, and rember that you are the fole cause of these missortunes that now impend over my head. I should never have abandoned the alliance of France, but for your flattering affurances. I do not now repent of the treaty I have concluded with your M-y; but I expect you will not ingloriously leave me at the mercy of my enemies, after having brought upon me all the force of Europe. I depend upon your adhering to your repeated engagements of the twentyfixth of last month, and that you will listen to no treaty in which I am not comprehended."

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instigated him to commence hostilities; and insists upon CHAP. his remembering the engagements by which he was fo folemnly bound. From the strain of this letter, and the Pruffian's declaration to the British minister when he first fet out for Saxony, importing, that he was going to fight the King of England's battles, a notion was generally conceived that those two powers had agreed to certain private pacta or conventions, the particulars of which have not yet transpired. Certain it is, a declaration was delivered to the Prussian resident at London, which appears to have been calculated as an answer to the letter. In that paper the King of Great-Britain declared, that the overtures made by his Majesty's electoral minifters in Germany, touching the checks received on the continent, should have no influence on his Majesty as king: that he faw in the fame light as before the pernicious effects of the union between the courts of Vienna and Verfailles, threatening a subversion of the whole fystem of publick liberty, and of the independence of the European powers: that he confidered as a fatal confequence of this dangerous connexion the cession made by the court of Vienna of the ports in the Netherlands to France, in fuch a critical fituation, and contrary to the faith of the most folemn treaties: that whatever might be the success of his arms, his Majesty was determined to act in constant concert with the King of Prussia in employing the most efficacious means to frustrate the unjust and oppressive designs of their common enemies. He concluded with affuring the King of Prussia that the Britilh crown would continue to fulfil, with the greatest punctuality, its engagements with his Prussian Majesty, and to support him with firmness and vigour. Such a representation could not fail of being agreeable to a prince, who, at this juncture, stood in need of an extraordinary cordial. He knew he could fecurely depend not only on the good faith of an English ministry, but also on the good plight of the British nation, which like an indulgent nurse hath always presented the nipple to her meagre

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BOOK III. German allies. Those, however, who pretended to consider and canvass events without prejudice and prepossession, could not help owning their surprise, at hearing an alliance stigmatised as pernicious to the system of public liberty, and subversive of the independence of the European powers, as they remembered that this alliance was the effect of necessity, to which the house of Austria was reduced, for its own preservation; reduced, as its friends and partisans affirm, by those very potentates, that now repreached her with these connexions.

§ XXV. His B \_\_\_\_ was resolved that the King of Prussia should have no cause to complain of his indifference, whatever reasons he had to exclaim against the convention of Closter-Seven, which he did not scruple to condemn as a very scandalous capitulation, as much as he disapproved of the conduct, in consequence of which near forty thousand men were so shamefully disarmed, and lost to his cause. Those stipulations also met with a very unfavourable reception in England, where the motions of the allied army in their retreat before the enemy were very freely cenfured, and fome great names exposed to the ridicule and contempt of the publick. This event, fo fingular in itself, and so important in its consequences, attracted the attention of the privy-council, where it is faid to have been canvaffed with great warmth and animofity of altercation. The g-l complained that he was restricted by peremptory orders from the regency of H-; and they were reported to have used recriminations in their defence. In all probability, every circumstance of the dispute was not explained to the satisfaction of all parties, inafmuch as that great commander quitted the harvest of military glory, and, like another Cincinnatus, retired to his plough. The convention of Closter-Seven was equally disagreeable to the courts of London and Verfailles. The former faw the electorate of Hanover left, by this capitulation, at the mercy of the enemy, who had taken poffession of the whole country, feised the revenues, exacted contributions, and changed the

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the whole form of government, in the name of his Most CHAP. Christian Majesty: while the French army, which had been employed in opposing the Hanoverians, was now at liberty to throw their additional force into the scale against the King of Prussia, who, at that period, seemed to totter on the verge of destruction. On the other hand, the French ministry thought their general had granted too favourable terms to a body of forces, whom he had cooped up in fuch a manner, that, in a little time, they must have surrendered at discretion. They, therefore, determined either to provoke the Hanoverians by illusage to an infraction of the treaty, or should that be found impracticable, renounce it as an imperfect convention, eltablished without proper authority. Both expedients were used without referve. They were no sooner informed of the capitulation, than they refused to acknowledge its validity, except on condition that the Hanoverian troops should formally engage to defist from all fervice against France and her allies during the present war, and be disarmed on their return to their own country. At the fame time her general, who commanded in the electorate, exhausted the country, by levying exorbitant contributions, and connived at fuch outrages as degraded his own dignity, and reflected difgrace on the character of his nation. The court of London, to make a merit of necessity, affected to consider the conventional act as a provisional armistice, to pave the way for a negociation that might terminate in a general peace, and proposals were offered for that purpose: but the French ministry kept aloof, and seemed resolved that the electorate of Hanover should be annexed to their king's dominions. At least, they were bent upon keeping it as a precious depositum, which, in the plan of a general pacification, they imagined, would counterbalance any advantage that Great-Britain might obtain in other parts of the world. Had they been allowed to keep this deposit, the kingdom of Great-Britain would have faved about twenty millions of money, together with the lives of her best

B O O K III.

foldiers; and Westphalia would have continued to enjoy all the bleffings of fecurity and peace. But the King of England's tenderness for Hanover was one of the chief fources of the misfortunes which befell that electorate. He could not bear the thoughts of feeing it, even for a feafon, in the hands of the enemy; and his own fentiments in this particular were re-enforced by the pressing remonstrances of the P-n monarch, whom, at this juncture, he thought it dangerous to disoblige. Actuated by these motives, he was pleased to see the articles of the convention fo palpably contravened, because the violation unbound his hands, and enabled him, confifently with good faith, to take effectual steps for the affistance of his ally, and the recovery of his own dominions. therefore, in quality of Elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg, published a declaration, observing, "That his Royal Highness the Duke of Cumberland had, on his part, honestly fulfilled all the conditions of the convention; but the Duke de Richelieu demanded that the troops should enter into an engagement specified above, and lay down their arms; although it was expressly stipulated in the convention that they should not be regarded as prisoners of war, under which quality alone they could be difarmed: that the French court pretended to treat the convention as a military regulation only; and, indeed, it was originally nothing more: but as they had expressly disowned its validity, and a negociation had been actually begun for difarming the auxiliaries, upon certain conditions, though the French general would never answer categorically, but waited always for fresh instructions from Versailles, the nature of that act was totally changed, and what was at first an agreement between general and general was now become a matter of flate between the two courts of London and Versailles: that, however hard the conditions of the convention appeared to be for the troops of Hanover, his Britannick Majesty would have acquiesced in them, had not the French glaringly discovered their design of totally ruining his army, and his dominions; and, by the most outrageous conduct,

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conduct, freed his Britannick Majesty from every obligation under which he had been laid by the convention: that in the midst of the armistice the most open hostilities had been committed: the cafte of Schartzfels had been forcibly feifed and pillaged, and the garrifon made prisoners of war: the prisoners made by the French before the convention had not been restored, according to an express article stipulated between the generals, though it had been fulfilled on the part of the electorate, by the immediate release of the French prisoners; the bailies of those districts from which the French troops were excluded by mutual agreement had been fummoned, on pain of military execution, to appear before the French commissary, and compelled to deliver into his hands the publick revenue: the French had appropriated to themselves part of those magazines which, by express agreement, were destined for the use of the electoral troops; and they had feifed the houses, revenue, and corn belonging to the King of England in the city of Bremen, in violation of their engagement to confider that city as a place absolutely free and neutral. He took notice that they had proceeded to menaces unheard of among civilifed people, of burning, facking, and destroying every thing that fell in their way, should the least hesitation be made in executing the convention according to their interpretation."-Such were the professed confiderations that determined his Britannick Majesty to renounce the agreement which they had violated, and have recourse to arms for the relief of his subjects and allies. It was in consequence of this determination that he conferred the command of his electoral army on Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, brother to the duke of that name, who had diftinguished himself in the Prussian army by his great military talents, and was, by blood and inclination, as well as interest, supposed warmly attached to his Britannick Majesty. The truth is, the K-g of P-a recommended him to this command, because he knew he could depend upon his concurring with all his measures, in conducting the operations of the British

CHAP. VIII. BOOK III.

British army. The Duke de Richelieu was no sooner in. formed of these particulars, than he fent a letter to Prince Ferdinand, specifying, "That although for some days he had perceived the Hanoverian troops in motion, in order to form themselves into a body, he could not imagine the object of these movements was to infringe the convention of neutrality which had been established between the Duke of Cumberland and himself, as French general; that he was blinded fo far by his confidence in the good faith of the Elector of Hanover, who had figned that convention, as to believe the troops were affembled for no other purpole than to be distributed into winter-quarters, which had been affigned them by the agreement; but his eyes were at last opened, by repeated advices which he had received from all quarters, importing, that the Hanoverians intended to infringe those articles which ought to be facred and inviolable: he affirmed, the King his master was still willing to give fresh proofs of his moderation, and his defire to fpare the effusion of human blood: with that view he declared to his Serene Highness, in the name of his Mot Christian Majesty, that he persisted in his resolution of fulfilling exactly all the points of the convention, provided they should be equally observed by the Hanoverian army; but he could not help apprifing his Serene Highnes that if his army should take any equivocal step, and, sill more, should it commit any act of hostility, he would then push matters to the last extremity, looking upon himself as authorised so to do by the rules of war: that he would fet fire to all the palaces, houses, and gardens; fack all the towns and villages, without sparing the most inconsiderable cottage, and subject the country to all to horrors of war and devastation. He conjured his Serent Highness to reflect on these particulars, and begged it would not lay him under the necessity of taking steps in contrary to his own personal character, as well as to the natural humanity of the French nation." To this letter, which was feconded by the Count de Lynar, the Daniel ambassador, who had meditated the convention, Print Ferdinand

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rerdinand returned a very laconick answer, intimating, that he would give the Duke de Richelieu his answer in person at the head of his army. At this particular juncture, the French general was disposed to abide by the original articles of the convention, rather than draw upon himself the hostilities of an army which he knew to be brave, resolute, and well appointed, and which he saw at present animated with an eager desire of wiping out the disgrace they had sustained by the capitulation, as well as of relieving their country from the grievous oppression under which it groaned.

& XXVI. About the latter end of November the Hanoverian army was wholly affembled at Stade, under the auspices of Prince Ferdinand, who resolved, without delay, to drive the French from the electorate, whither they now began their march. Part of the enemy's rear, confifting of two thousand men, was, in their march back to Zell, attacked in the bailiwick of Ebstorff, and entirely defeated by General Schuylenbourg; and, in a few days after this action, another happened upon the river Aller, between two confiderable bodies of each army, in which the Hanoverians, commanded by General Zastrow, remained masters of the field. These petty advantages lerved to encourage the allies, and put them in possession of Lunenbourg, Zell, and part of the Brunswick dominions, which the enemy were obliged to abandon. The operations of Prince Ferdinand, however, were rearded by the resolution and obstinate perseverance of the french officer who commanded the garrison of Harbourg. When the Hanoverian troops made themselves masters of he town, he retired into the castle, which he held out gainst a considerable detachment of the allied army, by whom it was invested; at length, however, the fortistcations being entirely demolished, he furrendered upon apitulation. On the fixth day of December Prince Ferdiand began his march towards Zell, where the French rmy had taken post, under the command of the Duke de Richelieu, who, at the approach of the Hanoverians, BOOK III. called in his advanced parties, abandoned feveral magazines, burned all the farm-houses and buildings belonging to the fheep walks of his Britannick Majesty, without pay. ing the least regard to the representations made by Prince Ferdinand on this fubject; reduced the fuburbs of Zell to ashes, after having allowed his men to plunder the houses, and even set fire to the Orphan-hospital, in which a great number of helpless children are said to have perish. ed. One cannot, without horrour, reflect upon fuch brutal acts of inhumanity. The French troops on divers occafions, and in different parts of the empire, acted tragedies of the same nature, which are not easily reconcileable to the character of a nation famed for fentiment and civility. The Hanoverians having advanced within a league of Zell, the two armies began to cannonade each other; the French troops posted on the right of the Aller burned their magazines, and retired into the town, where they were fo strongly entrenched, that Prince Ferdinand could not attempt the river, the passes of which were strongly guarded by the enemy. At the fame time, his troops were exposed to great hardships from the severity of the weather; he, therefore, retreated to Ultzen and Lunenbourg, where his army was put into winter-quarters, and executed feveral small enterprises by detachment, while the French general fixed his head-quarters in the city of Hanover, his cantonments extending as far as Zell, in the neighbourhood of which many sharp skirmishes were fought from the out-parties with various success. Their lm. perial Majesties were no sooner apprised of these transactions, which they confidered as infractions of the convention, than they fent an intimation to the Baron de Stemberg, minister from the King of Great-Britain as Electord Hanover, that he should appear no more at court, or confer with their ministers; and that his residing at Vienna as he might eafily conceive, could not be very agreeable in consequence of which message he retired, after having obtained the necessary passports for his departure. The chagrin occasioned at the court of Vienna by the Hand verial

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rerian army's having recourse to their arms again was, in CHAP. some measure, alleviated by the certain tidings received from Petersburgh, that the Czarina had signed her accesfon in form to the treaty between the courts of Vienna, Versailles, and Stockholm.

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& XXVII. In closing our account of this year's transactions on the continent, we may observe, that on the fixteenth day of November the Queen of Poland died at Berlin of an apoplexy, supposed to be occasioned by the shock she received on hearing that the French were totally defeated at Rosbach. She was a lady of exemplary virtue and piety, whose constitution had been broke by rief and anxiety conceived from the diffress of her own amily, as well as from the mifery to which she faw her people exposed. With respect to the European powers hat were not actually engaged as principals in the war, they feemed industriously to avoid every step that might be construed a deviation from the most scrupulous neutraty. The States-General proceeded with great circumpection, in the middle course between two powerful eighbours, equally jealous and formidable; and the King of Spain was gratified for his forbearance with a convention ettled between him and the belligerent powers, implyng, that his fubjects should pursue their commerce at a without molestation, provided they should not transort those articles of merchandise which were deemed contraband by all nations.——'The operations at fea, during the course of this year, either in Europe or Amenca, were far from being decisive or important. ommerce of Great-Britain fustained considerable damage om the activity and fuccess of French privateers, of which a great number had been equipped in the islands Martinique and Guadaloupe. The Greenwich ship of var, mounted with fifty guns, and a frigate of twenty, Il into the hands of the enemy, together with a very onliderable number of trading vessels. On the other and, the English cruisers and privateers acquitted themeves with equal vigilance and valour. The Duc d'Acutaine, a large ship of fifty guns, was taken in the B O O K III. month of June by two British ships of war, after a severe engagement; and, about the same time, the Aquilon, of nearly the fame force, was driven on shore and destroyed near Brest by the Antelope, one of the British cruisers. A French frigate of twenty-fix guns, called the Emeraude, was taken in the channel, after a warm engagement, by an English ship of inferior force, under the command of Captain Gilchrift, a gallant and alert officer, who, in the fequel, fignalifed himfelf on divers occasions, by very extraordinary acts of valour. All the fea-officers feemed to be animated with a noble emulation to distinguish them. felves in the service of their country, and the spirit de feended even to the captains of privateers, who, instead of imitating the former commanders of that class, in avoiding ships of force, and centering their whole attention in advantageous prizes, now encountered the armed ships of the enemy, and fought with the most obstinate valour in the pursuit of national glory.

§ XXVIII. Perhaps history cannot afford a more to markable instance of desperate courage than that which was exerted in December of the preceding year, by the officers and crew of an English privateer, called the Ter rible, under the command of Captain William Death, equipped with twenty-fix carriage-guns, and mannet with two hundred failors. On the twenty-third day of the month he engaged and made prize of a large French ship from St. Domingo, after an obstinate battle, in which he lost his own brother and fixteen seamen: then is fecured with forty men his prize, which contained valuable cargo, and directed his course to England, but in a few days he had the misfortune to fall in with the Ven geance, a privateer of St. Malos, carrying thirty-fix large cannon, with a complement of three hundred and fin men. Their first step was to attack the prize, who was easily re-taken; then the two ships bore down up the Terrible, whose main-mast was shot away by the in Notwithstanding this disaster, the Terrib maintained such a furious engagement against both can hardly be parallelled in the annals of Britain.

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French commander and his second were killed, with two thirds of his company; but the gallant Captain Death, with the greater part of his officers, and almost his whole crew, having met with the same fate, his ship was boarded by the enemy, who found no more than twenty-fix perfons alive, fixteen of whom were mutilated by the lofs of leg or arm, and the other ten grievously wounded. hip itself was so shattered, that it could scarce be kept above water, and the whole exhibited a scene of blood, horrour, and desolation. The victor itself lay like a wreck on the furface; and in this condition made shift, with great difficulty, to tow the Terrible \* into St. Malos, where the was not beheld without aftonishment and terour. This adventure was no fooner known in England, han a liberal subscription was raised for the support of Death's widow, and that part of the crew which survived he engagement. In this, and every fea-rencounter that happened within the prefent year, the fuperiority in skill nd resolution was ascertained to the British mariners; for even when they fought against great odds, their courage vas generally crowned with success. In the month of November, Captain Lockhart, a young gentleman, who had already rendered himfelf a terrour to the enemy as ommander of a small frigate, now added considerably to is reputation, by reducing the Melampe, a French privaeer of Bayonne, greatly superior to his own ship in numer of men and weight of metal. This exploit was feonded by another of the same nature, in his conquest of nother French adventurer, called the Countess of Gralont; and a third large privateer of Bayonne was taken Captain Saumarez, commander of the Antelope. word, the narrow feas were fo well guarded, that in a ttle time scarce a French ship durst appear in the English hannel, which the British traders navigated without olestation.

& XXIX.

There was a strange combination of names belonging to this privateer, Terrible, equipped at Execution-Dock, commanded by Captain Death, ofe lieutenant was called Devil, and who had one Ghost for surgeon.

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

B O O K III.

of XXIX. On the first day of December, the King of Great-Britain opened the fession of parliament with a fpeech from the throne, which feemed calculated to prepare the nation for the expense of maintaining a new war on the continent of Europe. His Majesty graciously declared, that it would have given him a most fensible pleafure to acquaint them, at the opening of the fession, that his fuccess in carrying on the war had been equal to the justice of his cause, and the extent and vigour of the measures formed for that purpose. He expressed the sirmest confidence, that the spirit and bravery of the nation, so renowned in all times, which had formerly furmounted fo many difficulties, were not to be abated by a few difappointments, which, he trusted, might be retrieved by the bleffing of God, and the zeal and ardour of his parliament for his Majesty's honour and the advantage of their country. He faid it was his determined resolution to apply his utmost efforts for the security of his kingdoms, and for the recovery and protection of the possessions and rights of his crown and subjects in America, and elsewhere, as well by the strongest exertion of his naval force, as by all other methods. He fignified, that another great object which he had at heart, was the prefervation of the protestant religion, and the liberties of Europe; and, in that view, to encourage and adhere to his allies. For this cause, he affured them, he would decline no inconveniencies, and in this cause he earnestly sollicited their hearty concurrence and vigorous assistance. He observed, that the late fignal fuccess in Germany had given a happy turn to affairs, which it was incumbent on them to improve; and that, in fuch a critical conjuncture, the eyes of all Europe were upon them. He particularly recommended to them, that his good brother and ally the King of Prulla might be supported in such a manner as his magnanimity and active zeal for the common cause appeared to deserve To the Commons he expressed his concern that the large supplies they had already granted did not produce all the good fruits they had reason to expect; but he had so great reliance

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reliance on their wisdom, as not to doubt of their perseverance. He only defired fuch supplies as should be necessary for the publick service, and told them they might depend upon it, that the best and most faithful œconomy should be used. He took notice of that spirit of disorder which had shown itself among the common people in fome parts of the kingdom he laid injunctions upon them to use their endeavours for discouraging and suppressing fuch abuses, and for maintaining the laws and lawful authority. He concluded with observing, that nothing would fo effectually conduce to the defense of all that was dear to the nation, as well as to the reducing their enemies to reason, as union and harmony among themselves. time was when every paragraph of this harangue, which the reader will perceive is not remarkable for its elegance and propriety, would have been canvassed and impugned by the country party in the House of Commons. They would have imputed the bad fuccess of the war to the indiscretion of the ministry, in taking preposterous measures, and appointing commanders unequal to the fervice They would have enquired in what manner the protestant religion was endangered; and, if it was, how it could be preserved or promoted by adhering to allies, who, without provocation, had well nigh ruined the first and principal protestant country of the Empire. They would have flarted doubts with respect to the late signal success in Germany, and hinted, that it would only serve to protract the burthen of a continental war. They would have owned that the eyes of all Europe were upon them, and drawn this consequence, that it therefore behoved them to act with the more delicacy and caution in discharge of the facred trust reposed in them by their constituents: a trust which their consciences would not allow to be faithfully discharged, should they rush precipitately into the destructive measures of a rash and prodigal ministry, squander away the wealth of the nation, and add to the grievous incumbrances under which it groaned, in support of connexions and alliances that were equally foreign to her consideration, and pernicious to her interest. They would Vol. IV. P have

CHAP. VIII.

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

B O O K III.

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BOOK III. have investigated that cause which was so warmly recommended for support, and pretended to discover that it was a cause in which Great-Britain ought to have had no concern, because it produced a certainty of loss without the They would have varied least prospect of advantage. effentially in their opinions of the necessary supplies, from the fentiments of those who prepared the estimates, and even declared some doubts about the œconomy to be used in managing the national expense; finally, they would have represented the impossibility of union between the two parties, one of which feemed bent upon reducing the other to beggary and contempt. Such was the strain that used to flow from an opposition, said to consist of disloyalty and disappointed ambition. But that malignant spirit was now happily extinguished. The voice of the fovereign was adored as the oracle of a divinity, and those happy days were now approaching that faw the Commons of England pour their treasures, in support of a German prince, with such a generous hand, that posterity will be amazed at their liberality.

An. 1758.

& XXX. To the speech of his Majesty the House of Lords returned an address, in such terms of complacency as had long diffinguished that illustrious affembly. Commons expressed their approbation and confidence with equal ardour, and not one objection was made to the form or nature of the address, though one gentleman, equally independent in his mind and fortune, took exceptions to some of the measures which had been lately pursued, Their complaisance was more substantially specified in the resolutions of the House, as soon as the two great committees of supply were appointed. They granted for the fea fervice of the enfuing year fixty thousand men, including fourteen thousand eight hundred and forty-five marines, and the standing army, comprehending four thousand invalids, was fixed at fifty-three thousand feven hundred and seventy-seven effective men, commission and non-commission officers included. For the maintenance of these forces, by sea and land, the charge of guards and garrisons at home and abroad, the expense of the Ordnance, and in order to make good the fum which had been iffued

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by his Majesty's orders, in pursuance of the address from the Commons, they now allotted four millions, twentytwo thousand, eight hundred and seven pounds, seven shillings, and three-pence. They unanimously granted, as a present supply in the then critical exigency, towards enabling his Majesty to maintain and keep together the army formed last year in his electoral dominions, and then again put in motion, and actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, the fum of one hundred thousand pounds: for the ordinary of the navy, including half pay to the fea officers, they allowed two hundred twenty-four thousand, four hundred twenty-one pounds, five shillings, and eight-pence: towards the building and support of the three hospitals for feamen at Gosport, Plymouth, and Greenwich thirty thousand pounds: for the reduced officers of the landforces and marines, pensions to the widows of officers, and other fuch military contingencies, forty thousand nine hundred and twenty-fix pounds, seventeen shillings, and eleven-pence: towards building, re-building, and repairs of his Majesty's ships for the ensuing year, the sum of two hundred thousand pounds: for defraying the charge of two thousand one hundred and twenty horse, and nine thousand nine hundred infantry, together with the general and staff officers, the officers of the hospital and the train of artillery, being the troops of the Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel in the pay of Great-Britain, for fixty days, together with the fubfidy for the faid time, purfuant to treaty, they assigned thirty-eight thousand three hundred and fixty pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten-pence three farthings. To the Foundling-hospital they gave forty thousand pounds, for the maintenance and education of deferted young children, as well as for the reception of all fuch as should be presented under a certain age, to be limited by the governors and guardians of that charity. Three hundred thousand pounds were given towards discharging the debt of the navy, and two hundred eighty-four thousand eight hundred and two pounds for making up the deficiency BOOK III. of the grants for the service of the preceding year. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was, moreover, gratified with the further fum of two hundred and three thousand five hundred and thirty-fix pounds, four shillings, and nine. pence farthing, for the maintenance of his forces, and the remainder of his fubfidy. They granted fix hundred and feventy thousand pounds for enabling his Majesty to make good his engagements with the King of Prussia, pursuant to a convention lately concluded with that potentate, For defraying the charge of thirty-eight thousand men of the troops of Hanover, Wolfenbuttel, Saxe-Gotha, and the Count of Buckbourg, together with that of general and staff-officers actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prussia, from the twenty-eighth day of November in the last, to the twentyfourth of December in the present year inclusive, to be issued in advance every two months, they allotted the sum of four hundred and fixty-three thousand eighty-four pounds, fix shillings, and ten-pence; and furthermore they granted three hundred eighty-fix thousand, nine hundred and fifteen pounds, thirteen shillings, and twopence, to defray the charges of forage, bread-waggons, train of artillery, provisions, wood, straw, and all other extraordinary expenses, contingencies, and losses whatfoever, incurred, or to be incurred, on account of his Majesty's army, confisting of thirty-eight thousand men, actually employed against the common enemy, in concert with the King of Prusia, from November last to next December inclusive. For the extraordinary expenses of the land-forces, and other services, incurred in the courfe of the last year, and not provided for by parliament, they allowed one hundred forty-five thoufand, four hundred fifty-four pounds, fifteen shillings, and one farthing. They provided eight hundred thousand pounds to enable his Majesty to defray the like sum raised in pursuance of an act made in the last session of parliament, and charged upon the first aids and supplies to be granted in the current session. Twenty-fix thousand pounds were bestowed

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bestowed on the out-pensioners of Chelsea-hospital; above twenty thousand for the expense of maintaining the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia; for reimburfing to the province of Massachuset's-Bay, and the colony of Connecticut, their expense in furnishing provisions and stores to the troops raised by them, for his Majesty's service, in the campaign of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-fix, the fum of forty-one thousand, one hundred, seventeen pounds, seventeen shillings, and six-pence halfpenny; to be applied towards the re-building of Londonbridge, carrying on the works for fortifying and fecuring theharbour of Milford, and repairing the parish-church of St. Margaret, in Westminster, they allotted twenty-nine The East-India company were inthousand pounds. dulged with twenty thousand pounds upon account, towards enabling them to defray the expense of a military force in their fettlements, to be maintained by them in lieu of the battalion of his Majesty's forces withdrawn from those settlements: the sum of ten thousand pounds was given, as usual, for maintaining and supporting the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa; and eleven thousand four hundred and fifty were granted as an augmentation to the falaries of the judges in the superior courts of judicature. They likewise provided one hundred thousand pounds for defraying the charge of pay and clothing to the militia, and advanced eight hundred thousand pounds, to enable his Majesty to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred or to be incurred for the fervice of the current year; and to take all fuch measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprifes or deligns of his enemies, as the exigency of his affairs might require. The whole supplies of this session amounted to the enormous fum of ten millions, four hundred eighty-fix thousand, four hundred fifty-seven pounds, and one penny. Nothing could so plainly demonstrate the implicit confidence which the parliament, at this juncture, reposed in the sovereign and the ministry, as their conduct in granting such liberal supplies, great part

of

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

of which were bestowed in favour of our German allies, whom the British nation thus generously paid for fight. ing their own battles. Besides the sum of one million, eight hundred fixty-one thousand, eight hundred ninety. feven pounds, four shillings, and eight-pence, expressly affigned for the support of these continental connexions, a fum confiderably exceeding the whole of the revenue raifed in the reign of Charles the Second, and what part of the fum granted to the King for extraordinary expenses might be applied to the same use, the article might not improperly be fwelled with the vast expense incurred by expeditions to the coast of France, the chief, if not sole design of which seemed to be a diversion in favour of the nation's allies in Germany, by preventing France from fending fuch numerous armies into that country as it could have spared, had not its sea-coasts required a confiderable body of forces for its defense against the attempts of the English. Indeed, the partisans of the ministry were at great pains to fuggest and inculcate a belief, that the war in Germany was chiefly supported as a necessary diversion in favour of Great-Britain and her plantations, which would have been exposed to infult and invasion, had not the enemy's forces been otherwise employed. But the absurdity of this notion will at once appear to those who consider, that by this time Great-Britain was sole mistress of the sea; that the navy of France was almost ruined, and her commerce on the ocean quite extinguished; that she could not, with the least prospect of success, hazard any expedition of consequence against Great-Britain, or any part of her dominions, while the ocean was covered with fuch powerful navies belonging to that nation; and that if one third part of the money annually ingulfed in the German vortex, had been employed in augmenting the naval forces of England, and those forces properly exerted, not a fingle cruiser would have been able to flir from the harbours of France; all her colonies in the West-Indies would have fallen an eafy prey to the arms of Great-Britain; and thus cut off from the resources of commerce, the

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CHAP. VIII. 1758.

§ XXXI. The funds established by the committee of ways and means, in order to realife those articles of supply, confisted of the malt-tax, the land tax at four shillings in the pound, sums remaining in the Exchequer produced from the finking fund, four millions five hundred thou fand pounds, to be raised by annuities, at three pounds ten shillings per cent. per ann. and five hundred thousand pounds by a lottery, attended with annuities redeemable by parliament, after the rate of three pounds per cent. per ann. these several annuities to be transferrable at the Bank of England, and charged upon a fund to be established in this session of parliament for payment thereof, and for which the finking fund should be a collateral security\*—one million, fix hundred and fix thousand and seventy-fix pounds, five shillings, one

penny,

\* It was enacted, That every person subscribing for five hundred pounds should be entitled to four hundred and fifty in annuities, and fifty pounds in lottery tickets, and fo in proportion for a greater or leffer fum; that the lottery should confist of tickets of the value of ten pounds each, in a proportion not exceeding eight blanks to a prize; the blanks to be of the value of fix pounds each, the blanks and prizes to bear an interest after the rate of three pounds per cent. to commence from the first day of January, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine; and that the sum of four millions, five hundred thousand pounds, to be raised by annuities, should bear an interest after the rate of three pounds ten shillings per cent. from the fifth day of July, in the present year, which annuities should stand reduced to three pounds per cent. after the expiration of twenty-four years, and afterwards be redeemable in the whole, or in part, by fums n tlefs than five hundred thousand pounds at one time, fix months notice having been first given of such payments respectively; that any subscriber might, on or before the twenty-ninth day of April, make a deposit of ten pounds per cen . on such sum as he should choose to subscribe towards raising these five millions, with the cashiers of the Bank, as a security for his future payments on the days appointed for that purpose; that the feveral fums fo received by the cashiers should be paid into the receipt of the Exchequer, to be applied from time to time to fuch fervices as should then have been voted by the House of Commons in this session of parliament, and not otherwise: that any subscriber paying the whole or any part of his Subscription previous to the days appointed for the respective payments should be allowed a discount, at the rate of three per cent. from the days of such respective payments to the respective times on which such payments were directed to be made, and that all persons who should make their full payments on the faid lottery should receive their tickets as soon, as they could be conveniently made out.

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK HI. 2758.

penny, one farthing, iffued and applied out of fuch monies as should or might arise from the surplusses, excesses, and other revenues composing the finking-fund-a tax of one shilling in the pound to be annually paid from all salaries, fees, and perquisites of offices and employments in Great. Britain, and from all pensions and other gratuities payable out of any revenues belonging to his Majesty in Great. Britain, exceeding the yearly value of one hundred pounds -an imposition of one shilling annually upon every dwelling-house inhabited within the kingdom of Great-Britain, over and above all other duties already chargeable upon them, to commence from the fifth day of April-an additional tax of fix-pence yearly for every window or light in every dwelling-house inhabited in Britain which shall contain fifteen windows or upwards; a continuation of certain acts near expiring, with respect to the duties pay. able on foreign fail-cloth imported into Great-Britain, the exportation of British gun-powder, the securing and encouraging the trade of his Majesty's sugar colonies in America, and the empowering the importers and proprietors of spirits from the British sugar plantations to land them before payment of the duties of excise, and to lodge them in warehouses at their own expense—an annual tax of forty shillings for a license to be taken out by every perfon trading in, felling, or vending gold or filver plate, in lieu of the duty of fix-pence per ounce on all filver plate, made or wrought, or which ought to be touched, affayed, or marked in this kingdom, which duty now ceased and determined—a cessation of all draw-backs payable on the exportation of filver plate—a law prohibiting all persons from selling, by retail, any sweet or made wines, without having first procured a license for that purpose—and a loan by Exchequer bills for eight hundred thousand pounds, to be charged on the first aids to be granted in the next session of parliament. These provifions amounted to the fum of eleven millions, feventynine thousand, seven hundred and twenty-two pounds, fixshillings, and ten-pence, exceeding the grants in the sum of five hundred ninety-three thousand, two hundred and fixty.

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fixty-five pounds, fix shillings, and nine-pence, so that the nation had reason to hope that this surplus of above half a million would prevent any demand for deficiencies in the next session. By these copious grants of a House of Commons, whose complaisance knew no bounds, the national debt was, at this juncture, swelled to the astonishing sum of eighty-seven millions, three hundred and sixty-seven thousand, two hundred and ten pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten-pence farthing; a load that would have crushed the national credit of any other state in christendom.

CHAP. VIII.

§ XXXII. The liberality of the parliament was like the rock in the wilderness, which flowed with the welcome ftream when touched by the rod of Moses. The present supply which the Commons granted for the subsistence of the Hanoverian army was, in pursuance of a message from his Majesty, communicated to the House by Mr. Secretary Pitt, fignifying, That the King had ordered his electoral army to be put again in motion, that it might act with vigour against the common enemy, in concert with his good brother and ally, the King of Prussia; that the exhausted and ruined state of the electorate having rendered it incapable of maintaining that army, until the further necessary charge thereof, as well as the more particular measures then concerting for the effectual support of his Prussian Majesty, could be laid before the House, the King, relying on the constant zeal of his faithful Commons for the support of the protestant religion, and of the liberties of Europe against the dangerous designs of France and her confederates, found himself, in the mean time, under the absolute necessity of recommending to the House the speedy consideration of such a present supply as might enable his Majesty, in this critical conjuncture, to subsist and keep together the faid army. This address was no sooner recited by the Speaker, than it was unanimously referred to the committee of supply, who gratified his Majesty's wish with an immediate resolution; and, considering their generous disposition, doubtless the same compliance

BOOK III.

pliance would have appeared, even though no mention had been made of the protestant religion, which, to men of ordinary penetration, appeared to have no natural concern in the present dispute between the belligerent powers, although former ministers had often violently introduced it into messages and speeches from the throne, in order to dazzle the eyes of the populace, even while they infulted the understanding of those who were capable of exercising their own reason. This pretext was worn so threadbare, that, among the fenfible part of mankind, it could no longer be used without incurring contempt and ridicule. to persuade mankind that the protestant religion was in danger, it would have been necessary to specify the defigns that were formed against it, as well as the nature of the conspiracy, and to descend to particulars, properly authenticated. In that case, great part of Europe would have been justly alarmed. The States-General of the United-Provinces, who have made fuch glorious and indefatigable efforts in support of the protestant religion, would furely have lent an helping hand towards its preservation. The Danes would not have flood tamely neutral, and feen the religion they profess exposed to the rage of such a powerful confederacy. It is not to be imagined that the Swedes, who have so zealously maintained the purity of the Protestant faith, would now join an affociation whose aim was the ruin of that religion. It is not credible that even the Hungarians, who profess the same faith, and other protestant states of the Empire, would enter so heartily into the interests of those who were bent upon its de-Aruction; or that the Russians would contribute to the aggrandifement of the catholick faith and discipline, so opposite to that of the Greek church, which they espouse. As, therefore, no particular of such a design was explained, no act of oppression towards any protestant state or fociety pointed out, except those that were excercised by the protestants themselves; and as the court of Vienna repeatedly difavowed any fuch defign, in the most folema manner, the unprejudiced part of mankind will be apt to conclude

conclude times, to prove alt general lu produced that fwar leaders of spirit of de to the pro the hint, pended ov to impress toexasper cruelty an difgrace h the parlia juncture, to the cro for augme King Wi parliamen acquire o that act, quam diu establishe the augme with a di augmenta safe soeve for integr

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conclude that the cry of religion was used, as in former times, to arouse, alarm, and inflame; nor did the artifice prove altogether unsuccessful. Notwithstanding the general luke-warmth of the age in matters of religion, it produced confiderable effect among the fanatick fectaries that fwarm through the kingdom of England. leaders of those blind enthusiasts, either actuated by the fpirit of delufion, or defirous of recommending themselves to the protection of the higher powers, immediately feised the hint, expatiating vehemently on the danger that impended over God's people; and exerting all their faculties to impress the belief of a religious war, which never fails to exasperate and impel the minds of men to such deeds of cruelty and revenge as must discredit all religion, and even diffrace humanity. The fignal trust and confidence which the parliament of England reposed in the King, at this juncture, was in nothing more conspicuous than in leaving to the crown the unlimited application of the fum granted for augmenting the falaries of the judges. In the reign of King William, when the act of fettlement was passed, the parliament, jealous of the influence which the crown might acquire over the judges, provided, by an express clause of that act, that the commissions of the judges should subsist quam din se bene gesserint, and that their salaries should be established: but now we find a sum of money granted for the augmentation of their falaries, and the crown vested with a discretionary power to proportion and apply this augmentation: a stretch of complaifance, which, how safe soever it may appear during the reign of a prince samed for integrity and moderation, will perhaps one day be considered as a very dangerous accession to the prerogative.

§ XXXIII. So fully perfuaded were the ministry that the Commons would chearfully enable them to pay what subsidies they might promise to their German allies, that on the eleventh of April they concluded a new treaty or convention with his Prussian Majesty, which, that it might have the firmer consistence, and the greater authority, was, on the part of Great-Britain, transacted and signed by

almost

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III.

almost all the privy-counsellors who had any share in the administration\*. This treaty, which was figned at Westminster, imported, "That the contracting powers having mutually resolved to continue their efforts for their reciprocal defense and security, for the recovery of their possessions, the protection of their allies, and the support of the liberties of the Germanick body, his Britannick Ma. jesty had, from these considerations, determined to grant to his Prussian Majesty an immediate succour in money, as being the most ready and the most efficacious, and their Majesties having judged it proper that thereupon a convention should be made, for declaring and fixing their intentions upon this head, they had nominated and authorised their respective ministers, who, after having communicated their full powers to one another, agreed to the following stipulations:-The King of Great-Britain engaged to pay in the city of London, to fuch person as should be authorised to receive it by his Prussian Majesty, the sum of four millions of German crowns, amounting to fix hundred and seventy thousand pounds sterling, to be paid at once, and in one whole fum, immediately after the exchange of ratifications, upon being demanded by his Prussian Majesty. This prince, on his part, obliged himself to apply that fum to the maintaining and augmenting his forces, which should act in the best manner for the good of the common cause, and for the purpose of reciprocal defense and mutual fecurity, proposed by their said Majesties. Moreover, the high contracting parties engaged not to conclude any treaty of peace, truce, or neutrality, nor any other fort of convention or agreement, with the powers engaged in the present war, but in concert and by mutual

agreement,

\* These were, Sir Robert Henley, lord keeper of the great seal; John
Earl of Granville, president of the council; Thomas Holles Duke of Newcastle, first commissioner of the Treasury; Robert Earl of Holdernesse, one
of the principal secretaries of state; Philip Earl of Hardwicke; and William
Pitt, Esq. another of the principal secretaries of state. In the name and
on the part of his Prussian Majesty, the Sieurs Dado Henry, Baron of Knyphausen, his privy counsellor of embassy, and minister plenipotentiary at the
court of London; and Louis Michel, his resident and charge d'affaires.

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§ XXXI of ways ar clauses in b tion. The iamentary o vet heartily by the remi capital pl wholly eng The Comm esty, with book of pl was laid be examine the mouth of th fication, or Nailand po be fortified. he trade be thought for buildin could, from concurrence itted for f of this va diffressful of the nation measure h argement naval force

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frustrated,

agreement, wherein both should be nominally comprehended. Finally, it was stipulated that this convention should be ratisfied, and the ratisfications exchanged on both sides, within the term of six weeks, to be computed from the day of signing this present convention, or sooner, if possible.

CHAP. VIII.

§ XXXIV. All the resolutions to which the committee of ways and means agreed were executed by bills, or clauses in bills, which afterwards received the royal fanction. The militia still continued to be an object of parlamentary care and attention: but the institution was not yet heartily embraced, because seemingly discountenanced by the remnant of the old ministry, which still maintained acapital place in the late coalition, and indeed almost wholly engrossed the distribution of pensions and places. The Commons having presented an address to his Maefty, with respect to the harbour of Milford-haven, a book of plans and estimates for fortifying that harbour was laid before the House, and a committee appointed to examine the particulars. They were of opinion that the mouth of the harbour was too wide to admit of any fortification, or effectual defense; but that the passage called Nailand point, lying higher than Hubberstone-road, might be fortified, so as to afford fafe riding and protection to the trade and navy of Great-Britain: that, if it should be thought proper hereafter to establish a yard and dock for building and equipping fleets at Milford, no place could, from the fituation, nature, foil, and a general concurrence of all necessary local circumstances, be more atted for fuch a defign: that if a proper use were made of this valuable though long-neglected harbour, the diffressful delays, too often embarrassing and disappointing the nation in her naval operations, might be in a great measure happily removed, to the infinite relief and enargement of the kingdom in the means of improving its naval force; the necessary progress and free execution of which was now so unhappily and frequently restrained and frustrated, by the want of a harbour like that of Milfordhaven,

BOOK III. 1758. haven, framed by nature with such local advantages This report appeared to be fo well supported by evidence that a bill was framed, and passed into an act, for granting ten thousand pounds towards carrying on the works fo fortifying and fecuring the harbour of Milford in the county of Pembroke. Other laws of national confequence were enacted, in the course of this fession, with little o no opposition. On the very first day of their sitting, the Commons received a petition from the mayor, magistrates merchants, and inhabitants of Liverpool, complaining of the high price of wheat, and other grain; expressing their apprehension that it would continue to rife, unles the time for the importation of foreign corn duty free should be prolonged, or some other falutary measure taken by parliament, to prevent dealers from engroffing corn fubmitting to the wisdom of the House a total prohibition of distilling and exporting grain while the high price should continue; praying they would take the premisse into confideration, and grant a feafonable relief to the petitioners, by a continuance of a free importation, and taking fuch other effectual means to reduce the growing price of corn as to them should seem necessary and expedient. This being an urgent case, that equally inte rested the humanity of the legislature and the manufactures of the kingdom, it was deliberated upon, and discussed with remarkable despatch. In a few days a bil was prepared, passed through both Houses, and enacted into a law, continuing till the twenty-fourth day of De cember, in the present year, the three acts of last fession, for prohibiting the exportation of corn; for prohibiting the distillation of spirits; and for allowing the importation of corn duty free. A fecond law was established, regulating the price and affife of bread, and subjecting to fevere penalties those who should be concerned in its adulteration. In consequence of certain resolutions taken in a committee of the whole House, a bill was presented for prohibiting the payment of the bounty upon the exportation of corn, unless fold at a lower price than is allowed

allowed in William an a fecond tire abortive.

&XXX Grenville, for the enc navy, estab frequent, a them more of their wi abuses atter the Lower the attentio the House of members. feveral pred formality, message ff that the l formed by purposes, leave to fu messages t examined mons hope with their timation, defired the messages, the fecond deemed far Lords, wl persons co niencies v well as th passed th

opposition

allowed in an act passed in the first year of the reign of William and Mary: but this bill, after having been read a second time, and committed, was neglected, and proved abortive.

CHAP. VIII.

&XXXV. In consequence of a motion made by Mr. Grenville, a humane bill was prepared and brought in for the encouragement of seamen employed in the royal pavy, establishing a regular method for the punctual, frequent, and certain payment of their wages; enabling them more eafily and readily to remit money for the support of their wives and families, and preventing the frauds and abuses attending such payments. This bill, having passed the Lower House, engaged in a very particular manner the attention of the Lords, who, by divers messages to the House of Commons, defired the attendance of several members. These messages being taken into consideration, several precedents were recited; a debate arose about their formality, and the House unanimously resolved that a message should be sent to the Lords, acquainting them that the House of Commons, not being sufficiently informed by their messages upon what grounds, or for what purposes, their lordships desired the House would give leave to fuch of their members as were named in the faid messages to attend the House of Lords, in order to be examined upon the fecond reading of the bill; the Commons hoped their lordships would make them acquainted with their intention. The Lords, in answer to this intimation, gave the Commons to understand, that they defired the attendance of the members mentioned in their messages, that they might be examined as witnesses upon the second reading of the hill. This explanation being deemed fatisfactory, the members attended the House of Lords, where they were carefully and fully examined, as persons conversant in sea-affairs, touching the inconveniencies which had formerly attended the fea-fervice, as well as the remedies now proposed: and the bill having passed through their House, though not without warm opposition, was enacted into a law by his Majesty's affent. BOOK III.

assent. The militia-act, as it passed in the last session. being found upon trial defective, Mr. Townshend moved for leave to bring in a new bill, to explain, amend, and enforce it: this was accordingly allowed, prepared, and passed into a law; though it did not seem altogether free from material objections, some of which were of an alarm. ing nature. The power vested by law in the crown over the militia is even more independent than that which it exercises over the standing army: for this last expires at the end of the year, if not continued by a new act of parliament; whereas the militia is subjected to the power of the crown for the term of five years, during which it may be called out into actual service without consent of parliaament, and confequently employed for finister purposes. A commission-officer in the militia may be detained, as fubject to the articles of war, until the crown shall allow the militia to return to their respective parishes; and thus engaged, he is liable to death as a mutineer, or deserter, should he refuse to appear in arms, and fight in support of the worst measures of the worst minister. Several merchants, and manufacturers of filk, offered a petition, representing, that in consequence of the act passed in the last fession, allowing the importation of fine organzine Italian thrown filk till the first day of December in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty seven, they had given orders to their correspondents abroad to send large quantities of fuch filk through Germany to Hamburgh and Holland, which in the common course of things might probably have arrived in London before the act expired, if their carriage had not been protracted by the great rains and inundations in Italy and Germany, in the months of August and September last, which rendered the roads for many weeks impassable: that from unlucky accidents on shore, and storms and contrary winds after the filk was shipped, it could not possibly arrive within the time limited by the act; and unless it should be admitted to an entry, they, the petitioners, would be great sufferers, the manufactures greatly prejudiced, and the good end

and purpo therefore, introduct should ap burgh for The petit ported th plied wit enacted i was likew annual m contained being ap pired, or with inde fuance of passed int

> and rend Vol.

\* Among Charles II. fo for punishing of George II another claus Several clauf ting on fire a II. for taking power of ap the 12th of twenty-nintl fixty-four, a the 5th of G III. An act stores, &c. f preventing f and to this v stroying of n ging the mar one thousand Il granting VII. An act colonies, un and fixty-on

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and purpose of the act in a great measure frustrated: they, therefore, prayed leave to bring in a bill for allowing the introduction of all such sine Italian organized silk as should appear to have been shipped in Holland and Hamburgh for London, on or before the first day of December. The petition being referred to a committee, which reported that these allegations were true, the House complied with their request, and the bill having passed, was enacted into a law in the usual form. A speedy passage was likewise granted to the mutiny bill, and the other annual measure for regulating the marine forces, which contained nothing new or extraordinary. A committee being appointed to enquire what laws were already expired, or near expiring, they performed this difficult task with indefatigable patience and perseverance; and, in pur-

CHAP. VIII.

Vol. IV. Q § XXXVI.

and rendering others perpetual\*.

fuance of their resolutions, three bills were prepared and passed into laws, continuing some acts for a certain time,

\* Among those rendered perpetual, we find an act of the 13th and 14th of Charles II. for preventing theft and rapine. An act of the 9th of George I. for punishing persons going armed in disguise. A clause in an act of the 6th of George II. to prevent the breaking down the bank of any river; and another clause in the said act, to prevent the treacherous cutting of hop binds. Several clauses in an act of the 10th of George II. for punishing persons setting on fire any mine, &c. The temporary part of the act of 20th of George Il for taking away the hereditary jurisdictions of Scotland, relating to the power of appealing to circuit courts. Those continued were, I. An act of the 12th of George II .for granting liberty to carry sugars, &c. until the twenty-ninth day of September, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fixty-four, and to the end of the next session of parliament. II. An act of the 5th of George II. to prevent fraud by bankrupts, &c. for the same period. III. An act of the 8th of George II. for encouraging the importation of naval flores, &c. for the fame period. IV. An act of the 19th of George II. for preventing frauds in the admeasurement of coals, &c until June 24, 1759; and to this was added, a perpetual clause for preventing the stealing or detroying of madder roots. V. An act of the 9th of George II. for encouraging the manufacture of British sail-cloth until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fixty-four. VI. An act of the 4th of George Il granting an allowance upon British made gun-powder, for the same period. VII. An act of the 6th of George II. for encouraging the trade of the fugar colonies, until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand seven hundred and fixty-one. And, VIII. fo much of the act of the 15th and 16th of Geo. II. to empower the importers of rum, &c. as relates to landing it before the payment of duties, until the twenty-ninth of September, one thousand leven hundred and fixty-four.

B O O K III. 1758.

& XXXVI. The lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council affembled, having drawn up a petition to the House of Commons, alledging that the toll upon loaded veffels, or other craft, paffing through the arches of London-Bridge, granted by a former act, passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for improving, widening, and enlarging the passage both under and over the said bridge, was altogether precarious, and infufficient to defray the expense, including that of a temporary wooden bridge already erected; and praying that a bill might be prepared, for explaining and rendering that act effectual; a committee was appointed to examine the contents, and a bill brought in according to their request. This, however, was opposed by a petition from several persons, owners of barges and other craft navigating the river Thames, who affirmed, that if the bill should pass into a law as it then stood, it would be extremely injurious to the petitioners in particular, and to the publick in general. These were heard by their counsel before the committee, but no report was yet given, when the temporary bridge was reduced to Then the mayor, aldermen, and commons of London presented another petition, alledging, that, in pursuance of the powers vested in them by act of parliament, they had already demolished a good number of the houses on London-Bridge, and directed the rest that were standing to be taken down with all convenient expedition, that two of the arches might be laid into one for the improvement of the navigation; that they had, at a very great expense, erected a temporary wooden bridge, to preserve a publick passage to and from the city, until the great arch could be finished, which temporary bridge being confumed by fire, they must rebuild it with the greatest expedition, at a further confiderable expense; that the fum necessary for carrying on and completing this great and useful work, including the rebuilding of the faid temporary bridge, was estimated at fourscore thousand pounds; and as the improving, widening, and enlarging London-Bridge was calculated for the general

good of commen Thames House t tition b ation of fupply, thousand A bill prove, Londonposed up burthen vented b men, and taking n wards th informed his Maje this publ then dep for repair ships whi under; t then emp principle dation of mented to built; that wouldber expended wood: tha folely for ed, would they shoul hoped the

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1758.

good of the public, for the advancement of trade and C H A P. commerce, and for making the navigation upon the river Thames more fafe and secure; they, therefore, prayed the House to take the premisses into consideration. This petition being recommended by his Majesty to the consideration of the House, was referred to the committee of fupply, and produced the resolution of granting fifteen thousand pounds towards the rebuilding of London-Bridge. A bill was prepared, under the title of an act to improve, widen, and enlarge the paffage over and through London-Bridge, enforcing the payment of the toll imposed upon loaded vessels, which had been found extremely burthensome to trade; but this incumbrance was prevented by another petition of feveral merchants, tradefmen, and other inhabitants of the borough of Southwark. taking notice of the fifteen thousand pounds granted towards the repair of London-Bridge, and, as they were informed, intended to make the faid bridge free for all his Majesty's subjects: they said they hoped to partake of this public bounty; but afterwards hearing that the bill then depending was confined to the tolls formerly granted for repairing the faid bridge, they represented the hardthips which they and all traders would continue to labour under; they alledged, that the furveyors and workmen then employed upon this work had discovered the true principles on which the bridge was built; that the foundation of the piers confifted of hard durable stone, well cemented together, and now as strong and firm as when first built; that when the bridge should be finished, great favings would be made in keeping it in repair, from the fums formerly expended, on a mistaken opinion, that the foundation was of wood: that there were very confiderable estates appointed folely for the repairs of the bridge, which, they apprehended, would be sufficient to maintain it without any toll; or if they should not be thought adequate to that purpose, they hoped the deficiency would not be made up by a toll upon trade and commerce, but rather by an imposition on coaches, chariots, chaifes, and faddle-horfes. This remonstrance

B O O K 111. monstrance made no impression on the House. The bill being, on the motion of Sir John P——s, read a third time, passed through both Houses, and obtained the royal assent.

6 XXXVII. The interest of the manufactures was also consulted in an act encouraging the growth of madder, a plant effentially necessary in dying and printing callicoes, which may be raifed in England without the least inconvenience. It was judged, upon enquiry, that the most effectual means to encourage the growth of this commodity would be to afcertain the tithe of it, and a bill was brought in for that purpose. The rate of the tithe was established at five shillings an acre; and it was enacted, that this law should continue in force for fourteen years, and to the end of the next fession of parliament; but wherefore this encouragement was made temporary it is not eafy to determine. The laws relating to the poor, though equally numerous and oppressive to the subject, having been found defective, a new clause, relating to the fettlement of fervants and apprentices, was now added to an act passed in the twentieth year of the present reign, intituled, " An act for the better adjusting and more easy recovery of the wages of certain fervants, and of certain apprentices." No country in the universe can produce fo many laws made in behalf of the poor as those that are daily accumulating in England; in no other country is there fo much money raised for their support, by private charity, as well as publick taxation; yet this, as much as any country, fwarms with vagrant beggars, and teems with objects of misery and distress; a sure sign either of misconduct in the legislature, or of shameful relaxation in the executive part of the civil administration.—The scenes of corruption, perjury, riot, and intemperance which every election for a member of parliament had lately produced were now grown fo infamoufly open and intolerable, and the right of voting was rendered fo obscure and perplexed by the pretentions and proceedings of all the candidates for Oxfordshire in the last election, that the fundamentals of the constitution seemed to shake, and

the very by these Wales, sition, b leave to which m the shire regulate accordin with M: and Car pared, v for furth knights Great-B That the the pref vote at within 1 estate, in value of charges, thelefs, court-ro certain act, the ninth d holds hi thereby a shire fhould fiftypou have bee be recov

of judic

<sup>\*</sup> For the tiff in fuel defendant

the very effence of parliaments to be in danger. Actuated CHAP. by these apprehensions, Sir John Phillips, a gentleman of Wales, who had long diffinguished himself in the oppofition, by his courage and independent spirit, moved for leave to bring in a bill that should obviate any doubts which might arise concerning the electors of knights of the shire to serve in parliament for England, and further regulate the proceedings of fuch elections. accordingly permitted to bring in fuch a bill, in conjunction with Mr. Townshend, Mr. Cornwall, and Lords North and Carysfort; and in the usual course, the bill being prepared, was enacted into a law, under the title of, "An act for further explaining the laws touching the electors of knights of the shire to serve in parliament for that part of Great-Britain called England." The preamble specified, That though, by an act passed in the eighteenth year of the prefent reign, it was provided, that no person might vote at the election of a knight or knights of a shire within England and Wales, without having a freehold estate, in the county for which he votes, of the clear yearly value of forty shillings, over and above all rents and charges, payable out of or in respect to the same; neverthelefs, certain perfons, who hold their effates by copy of court-roll, pretend to a right of voting, and have, at certain times, prefumed to vote at fuch elections: this act, therefore, ordained, that from and after the twentyninth day of June, in the present year, no person who holds his estate by copy of court-roll should be entitled thereby to vote at the election of any knight or knights of a shire within England or Wales; but every such vote should be void, and the person so voting should forfeit fifty pounds to any candidate for whom such vote should not have been given, and who should first sue for the same, to be recovered with full costs, by action of debt, in any court of judicature \*. So far the act, thus procured, may be at-

VIII. 1758.

<sup>\*</sup> For the more easy recovery of this forfeit, it was enacted, That the plaintiff in fuch action might only fet forth, in the declaration or bill, that the defendant was indebted to him in the fum of fifty pounds, alledging the of-

III. 1758.

BOOK tended with falutary consequences: but, in all probability. the intention of its first movers and patrons was not fully answered; inasmuch as no provision was made for putting a stop to that spirit of license, drunkenness, and debauchery, which prevails at almost every election, and has a very pernicious effect upon the morals of the people.

> & XXXVIII. Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this session, some turned on points of great consequence to the community. Lord Barrington, Mr. Thomas Gore, and Mr. Charles Townshend, were ordered by the House to prepare a bill for the speedy and effectual recruiting his Majesty's land forces and marines, which was no more than a transcript of the temporary act passed in the preceding fession under the same title; but the majority were averse to its being continued for another year, as it was attended with fome prejudice to the liberty of the subject. Objections of the same nature might have been as justly started against another bill, for the more effectually manning of his Majesty's navy, for preventing defertion, and for the relief and encouragement of feamen belonging to ships and vessels in the service of the merchants. The purport of this project was to establish registers or muster-rolls of all seamen, fishermen, lightermen, and watermen; obliging ship-masters to leave subscribed lists of their respective crews at offices, maintained for that purpose, that a certain number of them might be chosen by lot for his Majesty's service in any case of emergency. This expedient, however, was rejected, as an unnecessary and inessectual incumbrance on commerce, which would hamper navigation, and in a little time diminish the number of seamen, of consequence act diametrically opposite to the purpose for which it was con-

> fense for which the suit should be brought, and that the defendant had acted contrary to this act, without mentioning the writ of fummons to parliament, or the return thereof; and, upon trial of any iffue, the plaintiff should not be obliged to prove the writ of summons to parliament, or the return thereof, or any warrant or authority to the sheriff upon any such writ: that every such action should be commenced within nine months after the fact committed; and that, if the plaintiff should discontinue his action, or be nonsuited, or have judgement given against him, the defendant should recover treble costs.

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trived .- Numberless frauds having been committed, and CHAP. incessant lawfuits produced, by private and clandestine conveyances, a motion was made, and leave given, to form abill for the publick registering of all deeds, conveyances, wills, and other incumbrances, that might affect any honours, manours, lands, tenements, and hereditaments, within the kingdom of England, wherein publick registers were not already appointed by act of parliament: but this measure, so necessary to the ascertainment and possession of property, met with a violent opposition; and was finally dropped, as some people imagine, through the influence of those who, perhaps, had particular reasons for countenancing the present mysterious forms of convey-Such a bill must also have been disagreeable and mortifying to the pride of those landholders whose estates were incumbered, because, in consequence of such a regifter, every mortgage under which they laboured would be exactly known.—The next object to which the House converted its attention, was a bill explaining and amending a late act for establishing a fish-market in the city of Westminster, and preventing scandalous monopolies of a few engroffing fish-morgers, who imposed exorbitant prices on their fish, and in this particular branch of traffick gave law to above fix hundred thousand of their fellow-Abundance of pains was taken to render this bill effectual, for putting an end to fuch flagrant impo-Enquiries were made, petitions read, counsel heard, and alterations proposed: at length the bill, having passed through the Lower House, was conveyed to the Lo di, among whom it was fuffered to expire, on preter ce that there was not time sufficient to expire, or pretence the fubject.

§XXXIX. The occasion that produced the next bill which mifcarried we shall explain, as an incident equally extraordinary and interesting. By an act passed in the preceding fession, for recruiting his Majesty's land-forces and marines, we have already observed, that the commisfioners thereby appointed were vested with a power of judgB.O O K III. 1758.

ing ultimately whether the persons brought before them were fuch as ought, by the rules prescribed in the act, to be impressed into the service: for it was expressly provided, that no person, so impressed by those commissioners, should be taken out of his Majesty's service by any process, other than for fome criminal accusation. During the recess of parliament, a gentleman having been impressed before the commissioners, and confined in the Savoy, his friends made application for a habeas-corpus, which produced fome hefitation, and indeed an infurmountable difficulty: for, according to the writ of habeas-corpus, paffed in the reign of Charles the Second, this privilege relates only to persons committed for criminal or supposed criminal matters, and the gentleman did not stand in that predicament. Before the question could be determined he was discharged, in consequence of an application to the fecretary at war; but the nature of the cafe plainly pointed out a defect in the act, feemingly of the most dangerous confequence to the liberty of the fubject. In order to remedy this defect, a bill for giving a more speedy relief to the fubject, upon the writ of habeas-corpus, was prepared, and presented to the House of Commons, which formed itself into a committee, and made several amendments. It imported, that the feveral provisions made in the aforefaid act, passed in the reign of Charles II. for the awarding of writs of habeas-corpus, in cases of commitment, or detainer, for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should, in like manner, extend to all cases where any person, not being committed or detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, should be confined, or restrained of his or her liberty, under any colour or pretense whatsoever: that, upon oath made by fuch person so confined or restrained, or by any other on his or her behalf, of any actual confinement or restraint, and that fuch confinement or restraint, to the best of the knowledge and belief of the person so applying, was not by virtue of any commitment or detainer for any criminal or supposed criminal matter, an habeas-cor-

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pus, directed to the person or persons so confining or CHAP. restraining the party, as aforefaid, should be awarded and granted, in the fame manner as is directed, and under the fame penalties as are provided by the faid at, in the case of persons committed and detained for any criminal or supposed criminal matter: that the person or persons before whom the party so confined or restrained hould be brought, by virtue of any habeas-corpus granted in the vacation-time, under the authority of this act, might and should, within three days after the return made, proceed to examine into the facts contained in such return, and into the cause of such confinement and restraint; and thereupon either discharge, or bail, or remand the parties fo brought, as the case should require, and as to justice should appertain. The rest of the bill related to the return of the writ in three days, and the penalties incurred by those who should neglect or refuse to make the due return, or to comply with any other dause of this regulation. The Commons seemed hearty mrearing up this additional buttress to the liberty of their fellow subjects, and passed the bill with the most laudable alacrity: but in the House of Lords such a great number of objections was started, that it funk at the second reading, and the judges were ordered to prepare a bill for the same purpose, to be laid before that House in the next fession.

§ XL. His Majesty having recommended the care of the Foundling-Hospital to the House of Commons, which chearfully granted forty thousand pounds for the support of that charity, the growing annual expense of it appeared worthy of further confideration, and leave was granted to bring in a bill, for obliging all the parishes of England and Wales to keep registers of all their deaths, births, and marriages, that from these a fund might be raised towards the support of the faid hospital. The bill was accordingly prepared by a committee appointed for the Purpose; but before the House could take the report into confideration the parliament was prorogued. The proprietors

VIII. 1758. BOOK 1758.

prietors of the privateer called the Antigallican, which had taken a rich French ship homeward-bound from China, and carried her into Cadix, where the Spanish government had wrested her by violence from the captors, and delivered her to the French owners, now presented a petition to the House of Commons, complaining of this interpolition as an act of partiality and injustice; reprefenting the great expense at which the privateer had been equipped, the legality of the capture, the lofs and hardships which they the petitioners had fullained, and imploring fuch relief as the House should think requisite. Though these allegations were supported by a species of evidence that feemed strong and convincing, and it might be thought incumbent on the parliament to vindicate the honour of the nation, when thus infulted by a foreign power, the House, upon this occasion, treated the petition with the most mortifying neglect, either giving little credit to the affertions it contained, or unwilling to take any flep which might at this juncture embroil the nation with the court of Spain on fuch a frivolous fubject. True it is the Spanish government alledged, in their own justification, that the prize was taken under the guns of Corunna, infomuch that the shot fired by the privateer entered that place, and damaged fome houses: but this allegation was never properly fustained, and the prize was certainly condemned as legal by the court of Admiralty at Gibraltar.

6 XIII. As we have already given a detail of the trial of Sir John Mordaunt, it will be unnecessary to recapitulate any oircumstances of that affair, except such as relate to its connexion with the proceedings of parliament. In the beginning of this fession, Lord Barrington, as secretary at war, informed the House, by his Majesty's command that Lieutenant General Sir John Mordaunt, a membe of that House, was in arrest for disobedience of his Ma jesty's orders, while employed on the late expedition to the coast of France. The Commons immediately resolv ed, That an address should be presented to his Majesty

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ruming him the thanks of this House for his gracious message of that day, in the communication he had been pleased to make of the reason for putting Lieutenant-General Sir John Mordaunt in arrest. Among the various objects of commerce that employed the attention of the House, one of the most considerable was the trade to the coast of Africa, for the protection of which an annual fum had been granted for some years, to be expended in the maintenance and repairs of castles and factories. While a committee was employed in perufing the accounts relating to the fum granted in the preceding fession for his purpose, a petition from the committee of the African company, recommended in a meffage from his Majesty, was presented to the House, soliciting further assistance for the ensuing year. In the mean time, a remonstrance was offered by certain planters and merchants, interested in and trading to the British sugar colonies in America, alledging, that the price of negroes was greatly advanced fince the forts and settlements on the coast of Africa had ben under the direction of the committee of the company of merchants trading to that coast; a circumstance that greatly diffressed and alarmed the petitioners, prevented the cultivation of the British colonies, and was a great detriment to the trade and navigation of the kingdom: that this misfortune, they believed, was in some measure owing to the ruinous state and condition of the forts and lettlements: that, in their opinion, the most effectual method for maintaining the interest of that trade on a respectable footing, next to that of an incorporated jointlock company, would be putting those forts and settlements under the fole direction of the commissioners for trade and plantations: that the preservation or ruin of the American fugar colonies went hand in hand with that of the flave trade to Africa: that, by an act passed in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty, for extending and improving this trade, the British subjects were debarred from lodging their flaves and merchandise in the forts and settlements on the coasts: they, therefore,

CHAP VIII. 1758. 1758.

BOOK prayed that this part of the act might be repealed; that all commanders of British and American vessels, free merchants, and all other his Majesty's subjects, who were fettled, or might at any time thereafter fettle in Africa, should have free liberty, from fun-rise to fun-set, to enter the forts and fettlements, and to deposit their goods and merchandise in the warehouses thereunto belonging; to fecure their flaves or other purchases without paying any consideration for the same; but the slaves to be victualled at the proper cost and charge of their respective owners. The House having taken this petition into consideration, enquired into the proceedings of the company, and revised the act for extending and improving the trade to Africa, refolved, that the committee of the African company had faithfully discharged the trust reposed in them, and granted ten thousand pounds for maintaining the British forts and fettlements in that part of the world. The enemy were perfectly well acquainted with the weakness of the British castles on the coast of Africa; and had they known as well how to execute with spirit, as to plan with fagacity, the attempt which, in the course of the preceding year, they made upon the principal British fort in Guinea would have fucceeded, and all the other fettlements would have fallen into their hands without opposition \*.

§ XLII.

· Robert Hunter Morris, represented, in a petition to the House, that a no falt was made in the British colonies in America, they were obliged to depend upon a precarious supply of that commodity from foreigners; he therefore, offered to undertake the making of marine-falt at a moderate price in one of those colonies, at his own risque and charge, provided h could be fecured in the enjoyment of the profits which the work might pro duce, for fuch a term of years as might feem to the House a proper an 2 dequate compensation for so great an undertaking. The petition was or dered to lie upon the table, afterwards read, and referred to a committee which however made no report.—A circumstance not easily accounted for unless we suppose the House of Commons were of opinion that such ? enterprise might contribute towards rendering our colonies too independent of their mother-country. Equally unaccountable was the mifcarriage another bill, brought in for regulating the manner of licenfing ale-house which was read for the first time; but when a motion was made for fecond reading, the question was put, and it passed in the negative.

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[XLII. The longest and warmest debate which was CHAP. maintained in the course of this session arose from a motion for leave to bring in a bill for shortening the term and duration of future parliaments; a measure truly patriotical, against which no substantial argument could be produced, although the motion was rejected by the majority, on pretence, that, whilft the nation was engaged in such a dangerous and expensive war, it would be improper to think of introducing fuch an alteration in the form of government. Reasons of equal strength and solidity will never be wanting to the patrons and ministers of C-n and V-. The alteration proposed was nothing less than removing and annulling an encroachment which had been made on the constitution: it might have been effected without the least pang or conrulfion, to the general fatisfaction of the nation: far from being unreasonable at this juncture, it would have enhanced the national reputation abroad, and rendered the war more formidable to the enemies of Great-Britain, by convincing them that it was supported by a ministry and parliament, who stood upon such good terms with the people. Indeed, a quick fuccession of parliaments might have disconcerted, and perhaps expelled that spirit of confidence and generofity which now fo remarkably espoused and gratified the f----'s predilection for the interest of H----. Other committees were established, to enquire into the expense incurred by new lines and fortifications raised at Gibraltar; to examine the original standards of weights and measures used in England; consider the laws relating to them, and report their observations, together with their opinion of the most effectuals means for afcertaining and enforcing uniform standards to be used for the future. The Commons were perfectly fatisfied with the new works which had been raifed at Gibraltar; and with respect to the weights and measures, the committee agreed to certain resolutions, but no further progress was made in this enquiry, except an order for printing thefe resolutions, with the appendix; however, as the boxes containing

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B O O K III. 1758.

containing the standards were ordered to be locked up be the clerk of the House, in all probability their intention was to proceed on this subject in some future session. Or the ninth day of June fundry bills received the royal affen by commission, his Majesty being indisposed; and on the twentieth day of the same month, the lords commissioners closed the session with a speech to both Houses, expressing his Majesty's deep sense of their loyalty and good affection. demonstrated in their late proceedings, in their zeal for his honour and real interest in all parts, in their earnestness to furmount every difficulty, in their ardour to maintain the war with the utmost vigour; proofs which must convince mankind that the ancient spirit of the British nation still subfisted in its full force. They were given to understand that the King had taken all fuch measures as appeared the most conducive to the accomplishment of their publick-spirited views and wishes; that with their affistance, crowned by the bleffing of God upon the conduct and bravery of the combined army, his Majesty had been enabled, not only to deliver his dominions in Germany from the oppressions and devastations of the French, but also to push his advantages on this side the Rhine; that he had cemented the union between him and his good brother the King of Prussia, by new engagements; that the British fleets and armies were now actually employed in such expeditions as appeared likely to annoy the enemy in the most fensible manner, and to promote the welfare and prosperity of these kingdoms; in particular, to preserve the British rights and poffessions in America, and to make France feel, in those parts, the real strength and importance of Great-Britain. The Commons were thanked for the ample fupplies which they had so freely and unanimoully given, and affured on the part of his Majesty that they should be managed with the most frugal œconomy. They were defired, in consequence of the King's earnest recommendation, to promote harmony and good agreement amongst his faithful subjects; to make the people acquainted with the rectitude and purity of his intentions

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6 XLIII. Never, furely, had any fovereign more reafon to be pleased with the conduct of his ministers, and the spirit of his people. The whole nation reposed the most unbounded confidence in the courage and discretion, as well as in the integrity of the minister, who seemed eager upon profecuting the war with fuch vigour and activity as appeared almost unexampled in the annals of Great-Britain. New levies were made, new ships put in commission, fresh expeditions undertaken, and fresh conquests projected. Such was the credit of the administration, that people fubscribed to the government loans with surprising eagerness. An unusual spirit of enterprise and resolution seemed to inspire all the individuals that conftituted the army and navy; and the passion for military fame diffused itself through all ranks in the civil department of life, even to the very dregs of the populace: fuch a remarkable change from indolence to activity, from indifference to zeal, from timorous caution to fearless execution, was effected by the influence and example of an intelligent and intrepid minister, who, chagrined at the inactivity and diffraces of the preceding campaign, had, on a very folemn occasion, lately declared his belief that there was a determined refolution, both in the naval and military commanders, against any vigorous exertion of the national power in the fervice of the country. He affirmed, that though his Majesty appeared ready to embrace every measure proposed by his ministers for the honour and interest of his British dominions, yet scarce a man could be found with whom the execution of any one plan in which there was the least appearance of any danger could with confidence be trusted. He particularised the inactivity of one general in North-America, from whose abilities and personal bravery the nation had conceived great expectations: he complained, that this noble commander had expressed the most contemptuous disregard for the civil

power,

BOOK III. 1758. power, from which he derived his authority, by neglecting to transmit, for a considerable length of time, any other advice of his proceedings but what appeared on a written fcrap of paper: he observed, that with a force by land and fea greater than ever the nation had heretofore main tained, with a King and minister ardently defirous of redeeming her glory, fuccouring her allies, and promoting her true interest, a shameful dislike to the service every where prevailed, and few feemed affected with any other zeal than that of afpiring to the highest posts, and grasping the largest salaries. The censure levelled at the commande in America was founded on mistake: the inactivity of that noble lord was not more disappointing to the ministry than disagreeable to his own inclination. He used his utmost endeavours to answer the expectation of the pub lick, but his hands were effectually tied by an absolute impossibility of success, and his conduct stood justified in the eyes of his fovereign. A particular and accurate detail of his proceedings he transmitted through a canal, which he imagined would have directly conveyed it to the footo the throne; but the packet was faid to have been pur posely intercepted and suppressed. Perhaps he was no altogether excuseable for having corresponded so slight with the fecretary of state; but he was faid to have gon abroad in full perfuasion that the ministry would be changed, and therefore his affiduities were principally directed to the great personage, who, in that case, would have fuperintended and directed all the operations of the army. All forts of military preparations in founderies docks, arfenals, raising and exercising troops, and vidu alling transports, were now carried on with such diligend and dispatch as seemed to promise an exertion that would foon obliterate the disagreeable remembrance of past of The beginning of the year was, however, a little clouded by a general concern for the death of his Majelty third daughter, the Princess Caroline, a lady of the mod exemplary virtue and amiable character, who died at the

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age of forty-five, fincerely regretted as a pattern of unaffected piety, and unbounded benevolence.

VIII.

CHAP.

& XLIV. The British cruisers kept the sea during all the severity of winter, in order to protect the commerce of the kingdom, and annoy that of the enemy. They exerted themselves with such activity, and their vigilance was attended with fuch fuccess, that a great number of prizes was taken, and the trade of France almost totally extinguished. A very gallant exploit was atchieved by one Captain Bray, commander of the Adventure, a small armed veffel in the government's service: falling in with the Machault, a large privateer of Dunkirk, near Dungennefs, he ran her a board, fastened her boltsprit to his capstan, and after a warm engagement compelled her commander to fubmit. A French frigate of thirty-fix guns was taken by Capt. Parker, in a new fire-ship of inferior force. Divers privateers of the enemy were funk, burned, or taken, and a great number of merchant-ships fell into the hands of the English. Nor was the success of the British ships of war confined to the English channel. At this period the board of Admiralty received information from Admiral Cotes, in Jamaica, of an action which happened off the island of Hispaniola, in the month of October of the preceding year, between three English ships of war and a French squadron. Captain Forrest, an officer of distinguished merit in the service, had, in the ship Augusta, failed from Port-Royal in Jamaica, accompanied by the Dreadnought and Edinburgh, under the command of the Captains Suckling and Langdon. He was ordered to cruise off Cape François, and this service he literally performed in the face of the French fquadron under Kersin, lately arrived at that place from the coast of Africa. This commander, piqued at feeing himfelf thus insulted by an inferior armament, resolved to come forth and give them battle; and that he might either take them, or at least drive them out of these seas, so as to afford a free passage to a great number of merchant-ships then lying BOOK III. 1758.

at the Cape, bound for Europe, he took every precaution which he thought necessary, to insure success. He re-en. forced his fquadron with some store-ships, mounted with guns and armed for the occasion, and supplied the deficiency in his complements, by taking on board feamen from the merchant ships, and foldiers from the garrison. Thus prepared, he weighed anchor, and stood out to fea, having under his command four large ships of the line, and three stout frigates. They were no sooner perceived advancing, than Captain Forrest held a short council with his two captains. "Gentlemen (faid he) you know our "own ftrength, and fee that of the enemy; shall we " give them battle?" They replying in the affirmative, he added, "Then fight them we will; there is no time " to be loft; return to your ships, and get them ready for "engaging." After this laconick confultation among these three gallant officers, they bore down upon the French squadron without further hesitation, and between three and four in the afternoon the action began with great impetuofity. The enemy exerted themselves with uncommon fpirit, confcious that their honour was peculiarly at stake, and that they fought in fight, as it were, of their own coast, which was lined with people, expecting to see them return in triumph. But, notwithstanding all their endeavours, their commodore, after having fustained a severe engagement, that lasted two hours and a half, found his ship in such a shattered condition, that he made signal for one of his frigates to come and tow him out of the line. His example was followed by the rest of his squadron, which, by this affistance, with the favour of the land breeze and the approach of night, made shift to accomplish their escape from the three British ships, which were too much disabled in their masts and rigging to prosecute their victory. One of the French squadron was rendered altogether unserviceable for action: their loss in men amounted to three hundred killed, and as many wounded; whereas that of the English did not much exceed one third of this number. Nevertheless, they were so much damaged, that,

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that, being unable to keep the fea, they returned to Ja- CHAP. maica, and the French commodore feifed the opportunity of failing with a great convoy for Europe. The courage of Captain Forrest was not more conspicuous in his engagement with the French fquadron near Cape François, than his conduct and fagacity in a fubfequent adventure near Port-au-Prince, a French harbour, situated at the bottom of a bay on the western part of Hispaniola, behind the small island of Gonave. After M. de Kersin had taken his departure from Cape François for Europe, Admiral Cotes, beating up to windward from Port-Royal in Jamaica with three ships of the line, received intelligence that there was a French fleet at Port-au-Prince, ready to fail on their return to Europe: Captain Forrest then prefented the Admiral with a plan for an attack on this place, This, however, was declined, and and urged it earnestly. Captain Forrest directed to cruise off the island Gonave for two days only, the admiral enjoining him to return at the expiration of the time, and rejoin the fquadron at Cape-Nicholas. Accordingly, Captain Forrest, in the Augusta, proceeded up the bay, between the island Gonave and Hispaniola, with a view to execute a plan which he had himself projected. Next day in the afternoon, though he perceived two floops, he forebore chafing, that he might not risque a discovery; for the same purpose he hoisted Dutch colours, and disguised his ship with tarpau-At five in the afternoon he discovered seven sail of thips steering to the westward, and hauled from them, to avoid fuspicion; but at the approach of night gave chase with all the fail he could carry. About ten he perceived two fail, one of which fired a gun, and the other made the best of her way for Leoganne, another harbour in the bay. At this period Captain Forrest reckoned eight sail to leeward, near another port called Petit Goave; coming up with the ship which had fired a gun, she submitted without opposition, after he had hailed, and told her captain what he was, produced two of his largest cannon, and threatened to fink her if the should give the least alarm.

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## HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

B O O K III. 1758. He forthwith shifted the prisoners from this prize, and placed on board of her five-and-thirty of his own crew, with orders to stand for Petit Goave and intercept any of the fleet that might attempt to reach that harbour. Then he made fail after the rest, and in the dawn of the morning, finding himself in the middle of their fleet, he began to fire at them all in their turns, as he could bring his guns to bear: they returned the fire for some time; at length the Marguerite, the Solide, and the Theodore struck These being secured, were afterwards used their colours. in taking the Maurice, Le Grand, and La Flore; the Brilliant also submitted, and the Mars made fail, in hopes of escaping, but the Augusta coming up with her about noon, she likewise fell into the hands of the victor. Thus, by a well-conducted ftratagem, a whole fleet of nine fail were taken by a fingle ship, in the neighbourhood of four or five harbours, in any one of which they would have found immediate shelter and security. The prizes, which happened to be richly laden, were fafely conveyed to Jamaica, and there fold at public auction, for the benefit of the captors, who may fafely challenge history to produce fuch another instance of fuccess.

§ XLV. The ministry having determined to make vigorus efforts against the enemy in North-America, Admiral Boscawen was vested with the command of the sleet destined for that service, and failed from St. Helen's on the nineteenth day of February, when the Invincible, of feventy-four guns, one of the best ships that constituted his squadron, ran a-ground and perished; but her men, stores, and artillery were faved. In the course of the succeeding month Sir Edward Hawke steered into the Bay of Bifcay with another fquadron, in order to intercept any supplies from France defigned for Cape-Breton or Canada; and about the fame time the town of Embden, belonging to his Prussian Majesty, which had fallen imto the hands of the enemy, was fuddenly retrieved by the conduct of Commodore Holmes, stationed on that coast, who fent up two of his small ships to anchor in the river between

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Knok and the city. The garrison, amounting to three

thousand seven hundred men, finding themselves thus cut

off from all communication with the country below, abandoned the place with great precipitation, and some of their baggage being sent off by water, was taken by the boats which the Commodore armed for that purpose. It was in the same month that the Admiralty received advice of another advantage by fea, which had been gained by Admiral Osborne, while he cruised between Cape de Gatt and Carthagena on the coast of Spain. On the twentyeighth day of March he fell in with the French squadron, commanded by the Marquis du Quesne, consisting of four ships, namely, the Foudroyant, of eighty guns, the Orphée, of fixty-four, the Oriflamme, of fifty, and the Pleiade frigate, of twenty-four, in their passage from Toulon to re-enforce M. de la Clue, who had for some time been blocked up by Admiral Ofborne in the harbour of Carthagena. The enemy no fooner perceived the English squadron than they dispersed, and steered different courses: then Mr. Osborne detached divers ships in pursuit of each, while he himself, with the body of his fleet, stood off for the bay of Carthagena, to watch the motions of the French fquadron which lay there at anchor. About feven in the

evening, the Orphée, having on board five hundred men, struck to Captain Storr, in the Revenge, who lost the calf of one leg in the engagement, during which he was suffained by the ships Berwick and Preston. The Monmouth, of sixty-four guns, commanded by Captain Gardener, engaged the Foudroyant, one of the largest ships in the French navy, mounted with sourscore cannon, and containing eight hundred men, under the direction of the Marquis de Quesne. The action was maintained with great sury on both sides, and the gallant Captain Gardener lost his life; nevertheless, the sight was continued with unabating vigour by his lieutenant, Mr. Carkett, and the Foudroyant disabled in such a manner, that her commander struck, as soon as the other English ships, the Swist-sure and the Hampton-Court, appeared. This mortifying

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step, however, he did not take until he saw his ship lie like a wreck upon the water, and the decks covered with carnage. The Oriflamme was driven on shore under the castle of Aiglos, by the ships Montague and Monarque, commanded by the Captains Rowley and Montague, who could not complete their destruction without violating the neutrality of Spain. As for the Pleiade frigate, she made her escape by being a prime failor. This was a severe stroke upon the enemy, who not only lost two of their capital ships, but faw them added to the navy of Great-Britain, and the difaster was followed close by another, which they could not help feeling with equal fensibility of mortification and chagrin. In the beginning of April, Sir Edward Hawke, steering with his squadron into Basqueroad, on the coast of Poictou, discovered, off the isle of Aix, a French fleet at anchor, confifting of five ships of the line, with fix frigates, and forty transports, having on board three thousand troops, and a large quantity of stores and provisions, intended as a supply for their settlements in North-America. They no fooner faw the English Admiral advancing, than they began to flip their cables, and fly in the utmost confusion. Some of them escaped by fea, but the greater number ran into shoal water, where they could not be purfued; and next morning they appeared a-ground, lying on their broadfides. Edward Hawke, who had rode all night at anchor a-breast of the isle of Aix, furnished the ships Intrepid and Medway with trusty pilots, and fent them farther in when the flood began to make, with orders to found a-head, that he might know whether there was any possibility of attacking the enemy, but the want of a fufficient depth of water rendered this scheme impracticable. In the mean time, the French threw over-board their cannon, stores, and ballast; and boats and launches from Rochefort were employed in carrying out warps, to drag their ships through the foft mud, as foon as they should be water-borne by the flowing-tide. By these means their large ships of war, and many of their transports, escaped into the river Cha-

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rente; but their loading was loft, and the end of their equipment totally defeated. Another convoy of merchant thips, under the protection of three frigates, Sir Edward Hawke, a few days before, had chased into the harbour of St. Martin's, in the isle of Rhé, where they still remained, waiting an opportunity for hazarding a fecond departure: a third, confisting of twelve sail, bound from Bourdeaux to Quebeck, under convoy of a frigate and armed vessel, was encountered at sea by one British ship of the line and two fire-ships, which took the frigate and armed vessel, and two of the convoy afterwards met with the fame fate; but this advantage was over-balanced by the lofs of Captain James Hume, commander of the Pluto fire-ship, a brave accomplished officer, who, in an unequal combat with the enemy, refused to quit the deck even when he was disabled, and fell gloriously, covered with wounds, exhorting the people, with his latest breath, to continue the engagement while the thip could fwim, and acquit themselves with honour in the service of their country.

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§ XLVI. On the twenty-ninth day of May the Raisonnable, a French ship of the line, mounted with fixty-four cannon, having on board fix hundred and thirty men, commanded by the Prince de Mombazon Chevalier de Rohan, was, in her paffage from Port l'Orient to Brest, attacked by Captain Dennis, in the Dorfetshire, of seventy guns, and taken after an obstinate engagement, in which one hundred and fixty men of the Prince's complement were killed or wounded, and he fustained great damage in his hull, fails, and rigging. These successes were moreover chequered by the tidings of a lamentable difaster that befell the ship Prince George, of eighty guns, commanded by Rear-Admiral Broderick, in his passage to the Mediterranean. On the thirteenth day of April, between one and two in the afternoon, a dreadful fire broke out in the fore part of the ship, and raged with such fury, that notwithstanding all the efforts of the officers and men for feveral hours, the flames increased, and the ship being confumed to the water's edge, the remnant funk about fix

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BOOK o'clock in the evening. The horrour and consternation of fuch a scene are not easily described. When all endeavours proved fruitless, and no hope of preserving the ship remained, the barge was hoisted out for the preservation of the Admiral, who entered it accordingly; but all diffinction of persons being now abolished, the seamen rushed into it in fuch crouds, that in a few moments it overfet. The admiral, forefeeing that this would be the cafe, stripped off his clothes, and committing himfelf to the mercy of the waves, was faved by the boat of a merchant-ship, after he had fustained himself in the sea a full hour by swiming. Captain Payton, who was the fecond in command, remained upon the quarter-deck as long as it was possible to keep that station, and then descending by the stern ladder, had the good fortune to be taken into a boat belonging to the Alderney floop. The hull of the ship, masts, and rigging, were now in a blaze, bursting tremendous in feveral parts through horrid clouds of smoak; nothing was heard but the crackling of the flames, mingled with the difmal cries of terror and diffraction; nothing was feen but acts of phrenzy and desperation. miserable wretches, affrighted at the horrours of such a conflagration, fought a fate less dreadful, by plunging into the fea, and about three hundred men were preferved by the boats belonging to fome ships that accompanied the Admiral in his voyage, but five hundred perished in the ocean.

§ XLVII. The King of Great-Britain being determined to renew his attempt upon the coast of France, ordered a very formidable armament to be equipped for that purpose. Two powerful squadrons by sea were destined for the services of this expedition, the first, consisting of eleven great ships, was commanded by Lord Anson and Sir Edward Hawke: the other, composed of four ships of the line, feven frigates, fix floops, two fire-ships, two bombs, ten cutters, twenty tenders, ten store-ships, and one hundred transports, was put under the direction of Commodore Howe, who had figualifed himself by his

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allantry and conduct in the course of the last fruitless CHAP. expedition. The plan of a descent upon France having been adopted by the ministry, a body of troops, confisting of fixteen regiments, nine troops of light-horse, and fix housand marines, was affembled for the execution of this lelign, and embarked under the command of the Duke of Marlborough; a nobleman, who, though he did not ineritall the military genius of his grandfather, yet far exelled him in the amiable and focial qualities of the heart: e was brave beyond all question, generous to profusion, nd good-natured to excess. On this occasion, he was fifted by the councils of Lord George Sackville, fecond command, fon to the Duke of Dorset; an officer of aperience and reputation, who had, in the civil departnents of government, exhibited proofs of extraordinary enius and uncommon application. The troops, having een encamped for some time upon the Isle of Wight, were mbarked in the latter end of May, and the two fleets alled in the beginning of June for the coast of Bretagne, taying the people of England flushed with the gayest hopes f victory and conquest. The two fleets parted at sea: ord Anson, with his squadron, proceeded to the bay of iscay, in order to watch the motions of the enemy's ships, nd harrass their navigation; while Commodore Howe, nth the land-forces, steered directly towards St. Maloes, a rong place of confiderable commerce, fituated on the oalt of Bretagne, against which the purposed invasion temed to be chiefly intended. The town, however, was bund too well fortified, both by art and nature, to admit an attempt by fea with any prospect of success; and, herefore, it was refolved to make a descent in the neigh-After the fleet had been, by contrary winds, etained several days in fight of the French coast, it arwed in the bay of Cancalle, about two leagues to the altward of St. Maloes, and Mr. Howe having filenced a hall battery which the enemy had occasionally raised upon be beach, the troops were landed, without further oppotion, on the fixth day of June, The Duke of Marlborough

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BOOK III. borough immediately began his march towards St. Servan, with a view to destroy such shipping and magazines as might be in any accessible parts of the river; and this scheme was executed with success. A great quantity of naval stores, two ships of war, several privateers, and about fourscore vessels of different sorts, were set on fire, and reduced to ashes, almost under the cannon of the place, which, however, they could not pretend to befiege in form. His grace having received repeated advices that the enemy were bufily employed in affembling forces to march against him, returned to Cancalle, where Mr. Howe had made fuch a masterly disposition of the boats and transports, that the re-embarkation of the troops was performed with furprifing ease and expedition. forces, while they remained on shore, were restrained from all outrages by the most severe discipline; and the French houses, which their inhabitants had abandoned, were left untouched. Immediately after their landing, the Duke of Marlborough, as commander in chief, published and distributed a manifesto, addressed to the people of Bretagne, giving them to understand, that his descent upon the coast was not effected with a defign to make war on the inhabitants of the open country, except such as should be found in arms, or otherwise opposing the operations of his Britannick Majesty: that all who were willing to continue in peaceable possession of their effects, might remain unmolested in their respective dwellings, and follow their usual occupations; that, besides the customs and taxes they used to pay to their own King, nothing should be required of them but what was absolutely necessary for the subsistence of the army; and that, for all provisions brought in, they should be paid in ready money. He concluded this notice with declaring, that if, notwithftanding these assurances of protection, they should carry off their effects and provisions, and abandon the places of their habitation, he would treat them as enemies, and destroy their houses with fire and sword. To the magi-Aracy of St. Maloes he likewife fent a letter, importing that

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at as all the inhabitants of the towns and villages beren Dinant, Rennes, and Doll, now in his possession, deferted their habitations, probably to avoid the payent of the usual contributions; and he being informed at the magistrates had compelled the people of the counto retire into the town of St. Malocs, he now gave em notice, that if they did not immediately fend them ck to their houses, and come themselves to his headarters, to fettle the contributions, he should think himf obliged to proceed to military execution. reats, however, were not put in force, although the magiates of St. Maloes did not think proper to comply with his junction. But it was found altogether impossible to prem irregularities among troops that were naturally licenous. Some houses were pillaged, and not without acts barbarity: but the offenders were brought to immediate flice; and it must be owned, as an incontestable proof the general's humanity, that in destroying the maganes of the enemy at St. Servan, which may be termed e suburbs of St. Maloes, he ordered one small storebuse to be spared, because it could not be set on fire withtt endangering the whole district. The British forces ing re-embarked, including about five hundred lightorfe, which had been disciplined and carried over with a ew to fcour the country, the fleet was detained by conary winds in the bay of Cancalle for feveral days, during hich a design seems to have been formed for attacking ranville, which had been reconnoitred by some of the igineers: but, in consequence of their report, the heme was laid aside, and the sleet stood out to sea, where was exposed to some rough weather. In a few days, he wind blowing in a northern direction, they steered gain towards the French coast, and ran in with the land ear Havre-de-Grace, where the flat-bottomed boats, proided for landing, were hoisted out, and a second disemarkation expected. But the wind blowing violently owards the evening, the boats were re-shipped, and the cet obliged to quit the land, in order to avoid the dan-

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BOOK III. 1758. gers of a lee-shore. Next day, the weather being more moderate, they returned to the same station, and order were given to prepare for a descent; but the Duke of Marlborough having taken a view of the coast in an open cutter, accompanied by Commodore Howe, thought proper to wave the attempt. Their next step was to bear away before the wind for Cherbourg, in the neighbourhood of which place the fleet came to anchor. Here fome of the transports received the fire of fix different batteries; and a confiderable body of troops appeared in arms to dispute the landing; nevertheless, the general resolved that the forts Querqueville, l'Hommet, and Gallet should be at tacked in the night by the first regiment of guards. The foldiers were actually distributed in the flat-bottomed boats, and every preparation made for this enterprise, when the wind began to blow with fuch violence, that the troops could not be landed without the most imminent danger and difficulty, nor properly fustained in case of a repulse. even if the disembarkation could have been effected. This attempt, therefore, was laid aside, but at the same time a refolution taken to stand in towards the shore with the whole fleet, to cover a general landing. A disposition was made accordingly, but the storm increasing, the transports ran foul of each other, and the ships were exposed to all the perils of a lee-shore, for the gale blew directly upon the coast; besides, the provisions began to fail, and the hay for the horses was almost consumed. These concurring reasons induced the commanders to postpone the disembarkation to a more favourable opportunity. The fleet stood out to sea, the tempest abated, they steered for the Isle of Wight, and next day anchored at St. Helen's. Such was the iffue of an enterprise atchieved with considerable fuccess, if we consider the damage done to the enemy's shipping, and the other objects which the ministry had in view; namely, to fecure the navigation of the channel, and make a diversion in fayour of German allies, by alarming the French King, and obliging him to employ a great number of troops to defend his coast from infult ord

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fult and invasion: but whether such a mighty arma- CHAP. nent was necessary for the accomplishment of these petty ins, and whether the same armament might not have een employed in executing schemes of infinitely greater dvantage to the nation, we shall leave to the judicious

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ader's own reflection. XLVIII. The defigns upon the coast of France, hough interrupted by tempestuous weather, were not syet laid afide for the whole feafon; but, in the mean ine, the troops were disembarked on the Isle of Wight; nd one brigade marched to the northward, to join a body ftroops with which the government refolved to augment he army of the allies in Germany, commanded by Prince edinand of Brunswick. The Duke of Marlborough nd Lord George Sackville being appointed to conduct British corps upon the continent, the command of the mine expeditions devolved to Lieutenant-General Bligh, mold experienced officer, who had ferved with reputation; nd his royal highness Prince Edward, afterwards created Duke of York, entered as a volunteer with Commodore lowe, in order to learn the rudiments of the fea fervice. the remainder of the troops being re-embarked, and every hing prepared for the fecond expedition, the fleet failed from St. Helen's on the first of August; and after a tedious affage from calms and contrary winds, anchored on the eventh in the bay of Cherbourg. By this time the enemy ad entrenched themselves within a line, extending from he fort Ecoeurdeville, which stands about two miles to he westward of Cherbourg, along the coast for the space of four miles, fortified with several batteries at proper diffances. Behind this retrenchment a body of horse and infantry appeared in red and blue uniforms; but as they did not advance to the open beach, the less risque was run in landing the British forces. At first a bomb-ketch had been fent to anchor near the town, and throw some shells into the place, as a feint to amuse the enemy, and deceive them with regard to the place of disembarkation, while the general had determined to land about a league to the westward BOOK III. westward of Querqueville, the most western fort in t The other bomb-ketches, being posted along shor did considerable execution upon the entrenchments, n only by throwing shells in the usual way, but also ufing ball-mortars, filled with great quantities of ball which may be thrown to a great distance, and, by scatte ing as they fly, do abundance of mischief. While the ketches fired without ceafing, the grenadiers and guar were rowed regularly ashore in the flat-bottomed boat and, landing without opposition, instantly formed on small open portion of the beach, with a natural break work in their front, having on the other fide a hollo way, and a village rifing beyond it with a fuddent afcen on the left, the ground was interfected by hedges, at covered with orchards, and from this quarter the enen advanced in order. The British troops immediately qui ted the breast-work, in order to meet them half way, ar a straggling fire began; but the French edging to the let took possession of the hill, from whence they piqueer with the advanced posts of the English. In the mean tim the rest of the infantry were disembarked, and the enen at night retired. As the light troops were not yet lande General Bligh encamped that night at the village of Ervill on a piece of ground that did not extend above four hu dred paces; fo that the tents were pitched in a crowde and irregular manner. Next morning, the general having received intelligence that no parties of the enemy we feen moving on the hill, or in the plain, and that Fo Querqueville was entirely abandoned, made a disposition for marching in two columns to Cherbourg. An advance party took immediate possession of Querqueville; and the lines and batteries along the shore were now deserted b the enemy. The British forces marching behind St. Auln Ecoeurdeville, Hommet, and la Gallet, found the tow of Cherbourg likewise abandoned, and the gates bein open, entered it without opposition. The citizens, en couraged by a manifesto containing a promise of protection which

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which had been published and distributed, in order to quiet CHAP. their apprehentions, received their new guests with a good mace, overwhelming them with civilities, for which they met with a very ungrateful return; for as the bulk of the army was not regularly encamped and superintended, the foldiers were at liberty to indulge themselves in riot and licentiousness. All night long they ravaged the adjacent country without restraint; and as no guards had been regularly placed in the streets and avenues of Cherbourg, to prevent disorders, the town itself was not exempted from pillage and brutality. These outrages, however, were no sooner known, than the general took immediate steps for putting a stop to them for the present, and preventing all irregularities for the future. Next morning the place being reconnoitred, he determined to destroy, without delay, all the forts and the bason; and the execution of this defign was left to the engineers, assisted by the officers of the fleet and artillery. Great sums of money had been expended upon the harbour and bason of Cherbourg, which at one time was considered by the French court as an object of great importance, from its situation respecting the river Seine, as well as the opposite coast of England; but as the works were left unfinished, in all appearance the plan had grown into dilreputation. The enemy had raised several unconnected batteries along the bay, but the town itself was quite open and defenceless. While the engineers were employed in demolishing the works, the light horse scoured the country, and detachments were every day fent out towards Walloign, at the distance of four leagues from Cherbourg, where the enemy were encamped, and every hour received re-enforcements. Several skirmishes were fought by the out parties of each army, in one of which Capt. Lindfay, a gallant young officer, who had been very instrumental In training the light horse, was mortally wounded. The harbour and bason of Cherbourg being destroyed, together with all the forts in the neighbourhood, and about twenty pieces of brass cannon secured on board the English ships,

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B O O K III. 1758. fterling, was exacted upon the town, and a plan of reembarkation concerted, as it appeared from the reports of peafants and deferters that the enemy were already increased to a formidable number. A slight entrenchment being raised, sufficient to defeat the last division that should be re-embarked, the stores and artillery were shipped, and the light horses conveyed on board their respective transports, by means of platforms laid in the slat-bottomed vessels. On the sixteenth day of August, at three o'clock in the morning, the forces marched from Cherbourg down to the beach, and re-embarked at Fort Galet, without the least disturbance from the enemy.

6 XLIX. This fervice being happily performed, the fleet set sail for the coast of England, and anchored in the road of Weymouth, under the high land of Portland. In two days it weighed and stood again to the fouthward; but was obliged, by contrary winds, to return to the fame riding. The second effort, however, was more effectual. The fleet with some difficulty kept the sea, and steering to the French coast, came to anchor in the bay of St. Lunaire, two leagues to the westward of St. Maloes, against which it was determined to make another attempt. The floops and ketches being ranged along fhore to cover the disembarkation, the troops landed on a fair open beach, and a detachment of grenadiers was fent to the harbour of St. Briac, above the town of St. Maloes, where they destroyed about fifteen small vessels: but St. Maloes itself being properly surveyed, appeared to be above infult, either from the land-forces or the shipping. of the river that forms its bason extends above two miles in breadth at its narrowest part, so as to be out of the reach of land-batteries, and the entrance is defended by fuch forts and batteries as the ships of war could not pretend to filence, confidering the difficult navigation of the channel: besides fifty pieces of large cannon planted on these forts and batteries, the enemy had mounted forty on the west side of the town; and the bason was, moreover, strengthened

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ftrengthened by feven frigates or armed veffels, whose CHAP. guns might have been brought to bear upon any batteries that could be raifed on shore, as well as upon ships entering by the usual channel. For these substantial reasons the defign against St. Maloes was dropped; but the general being unwilling to re-embark without having taken fome flep for the further annoyance of the enemy, refolved to penetrate into the country, conducting his motions, however, so as to be near the fleet, which had, by this time, quitted the bay of St. Lunaire, where it could not ride with any fafety, and anchored in the bay of St. Cas, about three leagues to the westward.

& L. On Friday the eighth of September, General Bligh, with his little army, began his march for Guildo, at the distance of nine miles, which he reached in the evening: next day he croffed a little gut or inlet of the fea, at low water, and his troops being incommoded by the peafants, who fired at them from hedges and houses, he sent a priest with a meffage, intimating, that if they would not defift, he would reduce their houses to ashes. No regard being paid to this intimation, the houses were actually fet on fire as foon as the troops had formed their camp about two miles on the other fide of the inlet. Next morning he proceeded to the village of Matignon, where, after fome imart skirmishing, the French piquets appeared, drawn up in order, to the number of two battalions; but having fultained a few shot from the English field-pieces, and feeing the grenadiers advance, they fuddenly dispersed. General Bligh continuing his route through the village, encamped in the open ground, about three miles from the bay of St. Cas, which was this day reconnoitred for reembarkation: for he now received undoubted intelligence, that the Duke d'Aiguillon had advanced from Brest to Lambale, within fix miles of the English camp, at the head of twelve regular battalions, fix fquadrons, two regiments of militia, eight mortars, and ten pieces of cannon. The bay of St. Cas was covered by an entrenchment which the enemy had thrown up, to prevent or VOL. IV.

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BOOK III. 1758. oppose any disembarkation; and on the outside of this work there was a range of fand-hills extending along fhore, which could have ferved as a cover to the enemy, from whence they might have annoyed the troops in reembarking: for this reason a proposal was made to the General, that the forces should be re-embarked from a fair open beach on the left, between St. Cas and Guildo: but this advice was rejected, and, indeed, the subsequent operations of the army favoured strong of blind security and rash presumption. Had the troops decamped in the night without noise, in all probability they would have arrived at the beach before the French had received the least intelligence of their motion; and, in that case, the whole army, confisting of about fix thousand men, might have been re-embarked without the least interruption: but, instead of this cautious manner of proceeding, the drums were beating at two o'clock in the morning, as if with intention to give notice to the enemy, who forthwith repeated the fame fignal. The troops were in motion before three, and though the length of the march did not exceed three miles, the halts and interruptions were fo numerous and frequent, that they did not arrive on the beach of St. Cas till nine. Then the embarkation was begun, and might have been happily finished, had the transports lain near the shore, and received the men as fast as the boats could have conveyed them on board, without distinction; but many ships rode at a considerable distance, and every boat carried the men on board their respective transports to which they belonged; a punctilio of disposition by which a great deal of time was unnecessarily confumed. The small ships and bomb-ketches were brought near the shore, to cover the re-embarkation; and a confiderable number of feaofficers was stationed on the beach, to superintend the boats-crews, and regulate the fervice; but, notwithstanding all their attention and authority, some of the boats were otherwise employed than in conveying the unhappy foldiers. Had all the cutters and small craft belonging to the fleet been properly occupied in this fervice, the difgrace

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diffrace and difaster of the day would scarce have happened. The British forces had skirmished a little on the march, but no confiderable body of the enemy appeared until the embarkation was begun; then they took possession of an eminence by a wind-mill, and forthwith opened a battery of ten cannon and eight mortars, from whence they fired with considerable effect upon the foldiers on the beach, and on the boats in their passage. They afterwards began to march down the hill, partly covered by a hollow-way on their left, with defign to gain a wood, where they might form and extend themselves along the front of the English, and advance against them under shelter of the fandhills; but in their descent they suffered extremely from the cannon and mortars of the shipping, which made great havock, and threw them into confusion. Their line of march down the hill was staggered, and for some time continued in suspense; then they turned off to one fide, extended themselves along a hill to their left, and advanced in a hollow way, from whence they fuddenly rushed out to the attack. Though the greater part of the British troops were already embarked, the rear-guard, confifting of all the grenadiers, and half of the first regiment of guards, remained on the shore; to the number of fifteen hundred, under the command of Major-General Dury. This officer, feeing the French advance, ordered his troops to form in grand divisions, and march from behind the bank that covered them, in order to charge the enemy before they could be formed on the plain. Had this step been taken when it was first suggested to Mr. Dury, before the French were disengaged from the hollow way, perhaps it might have fo far fucceeded as to disconcert and throw them into confusion: but by this time they had extended themselves into a very formidable front, and no hope remained of being able to withstand such a superior number. Instead of attempting to fight against such odds m an open field of battle, they might have retreated along the beach to a rock on the left, in which progress their

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B O O K III. 1758. right flank would have been fecured by the entrenchment; and the enemy could not have purfued them along the shore, without being exposed to such a fire from the shipping, as in all probability they could not have fustained. This scheme was likewise proposed to Mr. Dury; but he feemed to be actuated by a spirit of infatuation. The English line being drawn up in uneven ground began the action with an irregular fire from right to left, which the enemy returned; but their usual fortitude and resolution seemed to forfake them on this occasion. They saw themselves in danger of being surrounded, and cut in pieces; their officers dropped on every fide; and all hope of retreat was now intercepted. In this cruel dilemma their spirits failed; they were seised with a panick; they faultered, they broke, and in less than five minutes after the engagement began they fled in the utmost confusion, purfued by the enemy, who no fooner faw them give way than they fell in among them with their bayonets fixed, and made a great carnage. General Dury being dangerously wounded, ran into the sea, where he perished; and this was the fate of a great number, officers as well as foldiers. Many fwam towards the boats and veffels, which were ordered to give them all manner of affiftance; but by far the greater number were either butchered on the beach, or drowned in the water: a small body, however, instead of throwing themselves into the sea, retired to the rock on the left, where they made a stand, until they had exhausted their ammunition, and then surrendered at dis-The havock was moreover increased by the shot and shells discharged from the battery which the enemy had raifed on the hill. The flaughter would not have been so great, had not the French soldiers been exasperated by the fire from the frigates, which was still maintained even after the English troops were routed: but this was no fooner filenced by a fignal from the commodore, than the enemy exhibited a noble example of moderation and humanity, in granting immediate quarter and protection to

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the vanquished. About one thousand chosen men of the English army were killed and taken prisoners on this occasion: nor was the advantage cheaply purchased by the French troops, among whom the shot and shells from the frigates and ketches had done great execution. The clemency of the victors was the more remarkable, as the British troops in this expedition had been shamefully guilty of marauding, pillaging, burning, and other exceffes. War is so dreadful in itself, and so severe in its consequences, that the exercise of generosity and compassion, by which its horrours are mitigated, ought ever to be applauded, encouraged, and imitated. We ought also to use our best endeavours to deserve this treatment at the hands of a civilifed enemy. Let us be humane in our turn to those whom the fate of war hath subjected to our power: let us, in profecuting our military operations, maintain the most rigid discipline among the troops, and religiously abstain from all acts of violence and oppression. Thus, a laudable emulation will undoubtedly enfue, and the powers at war vie with each other in humanity and politeness. In other respects, the commander of an invading armament will always find his account in being well with the common people of the country in which the descent is made. By civil treatment and seasonable gratifications, they will be encouraged to bring into the camp regular supplies of provision and refreshment; they will mingle with the foldiers, and even form friendships among them; ferve as guides, messengers, and interpreters; let out their cattle for hire as draft-horses; work in their own perions as day-labourers; discover proper fords, bridges, roads, passes, and defiles; and, if artfully managed, communicate many useful hints of intelligence. If great care and circumspection be not exerted in maintaining discipline, and bridling the licentious disposition of the foldiers, fuch invafions will be productive of nothing but milcarriage and difgrace: for this, at best, is but a piratical way of carrying on war; and the troops engaged BOOK III. 1758. in it are, in some measure, debauched by the nature of the fervice. They are crowded together in transports, where the minute particulars of military order cannot be observed, even though the good of the service greatly depends upon a due observance of these forms. The soldiers grow negligent, and inattentive to cleanness and the exterior ornaments of drefs: they become flovenly, flothful, and altogether unfit for a return of duty: they are tumbled about occasionally in ships and boats, landed and re-embarked in a tumultuous manner, under a divided and diforderly command: they are accustomed to retire at the first report of an approaching enemy, and to take shelter on another element; nay, their small pillaging parties are often obliged to fly before unarmed peasants. Their duty on fuch occasions is the most unmanly part of a soldier's office; namely, to ruin, ravage, and destroy. They soon yield to the temptation of pillage, and are habituated to rapine: they give loose to intemperance, riot, and intoxication; commit a thousand excesses; and, when the enemy appears, run on board the ships with their booty. Thus the dignity of the service is debased: they lose all fense of honour, and of shame: they are no longer restricted by military laws, nor over-awed by the authority of officers; in a word, they degenerate into a species of lawless buccaneers. From such a total relaxation of morals and discipline, what can ensue but riot, confusion, dishonour, and defeat? All the advantage that can be expected from these sudden starts of invasion will scarce over-balance the evils we have mentioned, together with the extraordinary expense of equipping armaments of this nature. True it is, these descents oblige the French King to employ a considerable number of his troops for the defence of his maritime places: they ferve to ruin the trade of his subjects, protect the navigation of Great-Britain, and fecure its coast from invasion: but these purposes might be as effectually answered, at a much smaller expense, by the shipping alone. Should it be judged expedient,

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dient, however, to profecute this defultory kind of war, the commanders employed in it will do well to confider, that a descent ought never to be hazarded in an enemy's country, without having taken proper precautions to fecure a retreat: that the severest discipline ought to be preserved during all the operations of the campaign; that a general ought never to difembark but upon a well-concerted plan, nor commence his military transactions without some immediate point or object in view; that a re-embarkation ought never to be attempted, except from a clear open beach, where the approaches of an enemy may be feen, and the troops covered by the fire of their shipping. Those who presumed to restect upon the particulars of this last expedition owned themselves at a loss to account for the conduct of the general, in remaining on shore after the defign upon St. Maloes was laid afide; in penetrating fo far into the country, without any visible object; neglecting the repeated intelligence which he received; communicating by beat of drum his midnight motions to an enemy of double his force; loitering near feven hours in a march of three miles; and, lastly, attempting the re-embarkation of the troops at a place where no proper measures had been taken for their cover and defence. After the action of St. Cas, some civilities, by message, passed between the Duke d'Aiguillon and the English commanders, who were favoured with a lift of the prisoners, including four seacaptains; and affured that the wounded should receive all possible comfort and assistance. These matters being adjusted, Commodore Howe returned with the fleet to Spithead, and the foldiers were difembarked.

§ LI. The fuccess of the attempt upon Cherbourg had elevated the people to a degree of childish triumph; and the government thought proper to indulge this petulant spirit of exultation, by exposing twenty-one pieces of French cannon in Hyde-park, from whence they were drawn in procession to the Tower, amidst the acclamations of the populace. From this pinnacle of elation and pride

they

B O O K III. 1758. they were precipitated to the abyss of despondence or dejection, by the account of the miscarriage at St. Cas. which buoyed up the spirits of the French in the same The people of that nation began to stand in proportion. need of some such cordial after the losses they had suftained, and the ministry of Verfailles did not fail to make the most of this advantage: they published a pompous narrative of the battle at St. Cas, and magnified into a mighty victory the puny check which they had given to the rear-guard of an inconfiderable detachment. The people received it with implicit belief, because it was agreeable to their passions, and congratulated themselves upon their fuccess in hyperboles, dictated by that vivacity fo peculiar to the French nation. Indeed these are artistces which the ministers of every nation find it necessary to use at certain conjunctures, in governing the turbulent and capricious multitude. After the misfortune at St. Cas, nothing further was attempted by that armament; nor was any enterprife of importance atchieved by the British ships in Europe during the course of this summer. The cruifers, however, still continued active and alert. tain Hervey, in the ship Monmouth, destroyed a French ship of forty guns in the island of Malta; an exploit of which the Maltese loudly complained, as a violation of their neutrality. About twenty fail of small French veffels were driven a shore on the rocks of Bretagne, by fome cruifers belonging to the fleet commanded by Lord Anson, after a smart engagement with two frigates, under whose convoy they failed. In the month of November the Belliqueux, a French ship of war, mounted with fixty-four guns, having, by mistake, run up St. George's channel, and anchored in Lundy-road, Captain Saumarez, of the Antelope, then lying in King-road, immediately weighed and went in quest of her, according to the advice he had received. When he appeared, the French captain heaved up his anchor, and made a show of preparing for an engagement; but foon hauled down his colours,

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colours, and without firing a shot surrendered, with a complement of four hundred and seventeen men, to a ship of inferior force, both in number of hands and weight of metal.—By this time the English privateers swarmed to fich a degree in the channel, that scarce a French vessel durst quit the harbour, and consequently there was little or no booty to be obtained. In this dearth of legal prizes, ome of the adventurers were tempted to commit acts of piracy, and actually rifled the ships of neutral nations. Dutch veffel, having on board the baggage and domesticks klonging to the Marquis de Pignatelli, ambaffadour from he court of Spain to the King of Denmark, was boarded hree times fuccessively by the crews of three different printeers, who forced the hatches, rummaged the hold, broke open and rifled the trunks and boxes of the ambaffalour, infulted and even cruelly bruifed his officers, ftripped his domesticks, and carried off his effects, together with letters of credit, and a bill of exchange. Complaints of hese outrages being made to the court of London, the ords of the Admiralty promised, in the Gazette, a reward of five hundred pounds, without deduction, to any person who should discover the offenders concerned in these acts Some of them were detected accordingly, and brought to condign punishment.

LII. The Dutch had for some time carried on a very considerable traffick, not only in taking the fair advanages of their neutrality, but also in supplying the French with naval stores, and transporting the produce of the French sugar-colonies to Europe, as carriers hired by the proprietors. The English government, incensed at this infair commerce, prosecuted with such slagrant partiality for their enemies, issued orders for the cruisers to arrest all hips of neutral powers that should have French property on board; and these orders were executed with rigour and severity. A great number of Dutch ships were taken, and condemned as legal prizes, both in England and Janaica: sometimes the owners met with hard measure,

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and

BOOK III. 1758. and some crews were treated with insolence and barbarity. The subjects of the United Provinces raised a loud clamour against the English, for having by these captures violated the law of nations, and the particular treaty of commerce subsisting between Great-Britain and the Republick. Remonstrances were made to the English mini ftry, who expostulated in their turn with the deputies of the States-General; and the two nations were inflamed against each other with the most bitter animosity. The British resident at the Hague; in a conference with the States, reprefented, that the King his master could not hope to fee peace speedily re-established, if the neutral princes should assume a right of carrying on the trade of his enemies: that he expected, from their known justice, and the alliance by which they were fo nearly connected with his fubjects, they would honestly abandon this fraudulent commerce, and agree that naval stores should be comprehended in the class of contraband commodities He answered some articles of the complaints they had made with an appearance of candour and moderation; declared his Majesty's abhorrence of the violences which had been committed upon the subjects of the United Provinces; explained the steps which had been taken by the English government to bring the offenders to justice, as well as to prevent fuch outrages for the future; and affured them, that his Britannick Majesty had nothing more at hear than to renew and maintain, in full force, the mutual confidence and friendship by which the maritime powers of England and Holland had been fo long united.

of LIII. These professions of esteem and affection were not sufficient to quiet the minds and appears the resentment of the Dutch merchants; and the French party, which was both numerous and powerful, employed all their are and influence to exasperate their passions, and widen the breach between the two nations. The court of Versailles did not fail to seife this opportunity of infinuation: while on one hand, their ministers and emissaries in Hollandes.

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aggerated the indignities and injuries which the States had C HA P. fulfained, from the insolence and rapacity of the English; they, on the other hand, flattered and cajoled them with little advantages in trade, and formal professions of respect. Such was the memorial delivered by the Count D'Affry, intimating that the Empress-Queen being under an absolute necessity of employing all her forces to defend her hereditary dominions in Germany, she had been obliged to withdraw her troops from Oftend and Nieuport; and applied to the French King, as her ally nearest at hand, to garrison these two places, which, however, should be restored at the peace, or sooner, should her Imperial Majeffy think proper. The spirit of the Dutch merchants at this juncture, and their fentiments with respect to England, appeared with very high colouring in a memorial to the States-General, subscribed by two hundred and fixtynine traders, composed and presented with equal secrefy and circumfpection. In this famous remonstrance they complained, that the violences and unjust depredations committed by the English ships of war and privateers on the vessels and effects of them and their fellow-subjects were not only continued, but daily multiplied; and cruelty and excess carried to such a pitch of wanton barbarity, that the petitioners were forced to implore the affistance of their High Mightinesses to protect, in the most efficacious manner, the commerce and navigation, which were the two finews of the republic. For this necessary purpose they offered to contribute each his contingent, and to arm at their own charge; and other propolitions were made for an immediate augmentation of the marine. While this party industriously exerted all their power and credit to effect a rupture with England, the Princess Gouvernante employed all her interest and address to divert them from this object, and alarm them with respect to the power and designs of France; against which she earnestly exhorted them to augment their military forces by land, that they might be prepared to defend

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themselves

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK 1H. 1758. themselves against all invasion. At the same time, she spared no pains to adjust the differences between her husband's country and her father's kingdom; and, without doubt, her healing councils were of great essicacy in preventing matters from coming to a very dangerous extremity.

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1. Expedition against Senegal. § II. Fort Louis and Senegal taken. § III. Unsuccessful attempt upon Goree. § IV. Expedition to Cape Breton. § V. Louisbourg taken. § VI. And St. John's. & VII. Unsuccessful attempt upon Ticonderoga. § VIII. Fort Frontenac taken and destroyed by the English. § IX. Brigadier Forbes takes Fort du Quefne. § X. Goree taken. § XI. Shipwereck of Capt. Barton. § XII. Gallant exploit of Capt. Tyrrel. § XIII. Tranfactions in the East-Indies. Adm. Pococke engages the French fleet. § XIV. Fort St. David's taken by the French. Second engagement between Adm. Pococke and M. d'Apché. § XV. Progress of M. Lally. § XVI. Transactions on the continent of Europe. § XVII. King of Prussia raises contributions in Saxony, and the dominions of the Duke of Wirtemberg. § XVIII. State of the armies on the continent. § XIX. French King changes the administration of Hanover. § XX. Plan of a treaty between the French King and the Landgrave of Heffe-Caffel. § XXI. Treaty between the French King and the Duke of Brunfwick. § XXII. Decree of the Aulick council against the Elector of Hanover and others. § XXIII. Bremen taken by the Duke de Broglio, and retaken by Prince Ferdinand. § XXIV. Duke de Richelieu recalled. Generous conduct of the Duke de Randan. § XXV. The French abandon Hanover. Prince of Brunswick reduces Hoya and Minden. § XXVI. Prince Ferdinand defeats the French at Creveldt, and takes Duffeldorp. § XXVII. Prince of Ysenbourg defeated by the Duke de Broglio. § XXVIII. Gen. Imhoff defeats M. de Chevert. & XXIX. General Oberg defeated by the French at Landwernhagen. § XXX. Death of the Duke of Marlborough. § XXXI. Operations of the King of Prussia at the beginning of the campaign. § XXXII. He enters Moravia, and invests Olmutz. & XXXIII. He is obliged

obliged to raise the siege, and retires into Bohemia, where he takes Koningsgratz. § XXXIV. Progress of the Rusfians. § XXXV. King of Prussia defeats the Russians at Zorndorf. § XXXVI. And is defeated by the Austrians at Hochkirchen. § XXXVII. He retires to Silefia. § XXXVIII. Suburbs of Dresden burnt by the Prussian governor. § XXXIX. King of Prussia raises the siege of Neiss and relieves Dresden. § XL. Inhabitants of Saxony grievously oppressed. § XLI. Progress of the Swedes in Pomerania. § XLII. Prince Charles of Saxony elected Duke of Courland. § XLIII. King of England's memorial to the diet of the Empire. § XLIV. Death of Pope Benedict. § XLV. King of Portugal affaffinated. § XLVI. Proceedings of the French ministry. § XLVII. Conduct of the King of Denmark. § XLVIII. Answers to the charges brought by the Dutch against the English cruisers. § XLIX. Conferences between the British ambassador and the States-General. & L. Further proceedings.

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§ I. HE whole strength of Great-Britain during this campaign was not exhausted in petty defcents upon the coast of France. The continent of America was the great theatre on which her chief vigour was displayed; nor did she fail to exert herself in successful efforts against the French settlements on the coast of Africa. The whole gum trade, from Cape Blanco to the river Gambia, an extent of five hundred miles, had been engroffed by the French, who built Fort Louis within the mouth of the Senegal, extending their factories near three hundred leagues up that river, and on the same coast had fortified the island of Goree, in which they maintained a confiderable garrison. The gum-senega, of which a great quantity is used by the manufacturers of England, being wholly in the hands of the enemy, the English dealers were obliged to buy it at fecond hand from the Dutch, who purchased it of the French, and exacted an exorbitant price

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price for that commodity. This confideration forwarded the plan for annexing the country to the possession of Great Britain. The project was first conceived by Mr. Thomas Cumming, a fenfible quaker, who, as a private merchant, had made a voyage to Portenderrick, an adjoining part of the coast, and contracted a personal acquaintance with Amir, the Moorish King of Legibelli \*. He found this African prince extremely well disposed towards the fubjects of Great Britain, whom he publickly preferred to all other Europeans, and fo exasperated against the French, that he declared he should never be easy till they were exterminated from the river Senegal. At that very time he had commenced hostilities against them, and earnestly desired that the King of England would fend out an armament to reduce Fort-Louis and Goree, with some ships of force to protect the traders. In that case, he promised to join his Britannick majesty's forces, and grant an exclusive trade to his subjects. Cumming not only perceived the advantages that would refult from fuch an exclusive privilege with regard to the gum, but forefaw many other important consequences of an extensive trade in a country, which, over and above the gum-senega, contains many valuable articles, such as gold-dust, elephants teeth, hides, cotton, bees-wax, flaves, oftrich feathers, indigo, ambergris, and civet. Elevated with the prospect of an acquisition so valuable to his country, this honest quaker was equally minute and indefatigable in his enquiries touching the commerce of the coast, as well as the strength and situation of the French lettlements on the river Senegal; and, at his return to England, actually formed the plan of an expedition for the conquest of Fort-Louis. This was presented to the board of trade, by whom it was approved, after a fevere examination; but it required the patriotic zeal and invincible perseverance of Cumming to surmount a variety of obstacles

<sup>\*</sup>The names the natives give to that part of South Barbary, known to merchants and navigators by that of The Gum Coast, and called in maps The Sandy Defert of Sara, and sometimes Zara.

BOOK III. 1758. cles before it was adopted by the ministry; and even the it was not executed in its full extent. He was abridged of one large ship, and in lieu of fix hundred land forces to be drafted from different regiments, which he is vain demanded, first from the Duke of Cumberland, and afterwards from Lord Ligonier, the lords of the Admifalty allotted two hundred marines only for this fervice After repeated follicitations he, in the year one thousand feven hundred and fifty-feven, obtained an order, that the two annual ships bound to the coast of Guinea should be joined by a floop and two buffes, and make an attemp upon the French settlement in the river Senegal. These ships, however, were detained by contrary winds until the feafon was too far advanced to admit a probability of fuc cefs, and therefore the defign was postponed. In the beginning of the present year, Mr. Cumming being reenforced with the interest of a considerable merchant in the city, to whom he had communicated the plan, renewed his application to the ministry, and they resolved to hazard the enterprise. A small squadron was equipped for this expedition, under the command of Captain Marsh, having on board a body of marines, commanded by Major Mafon with a detachment of artillery, ten pieces of cannon, eigh mortars, and a confiderable quantity of warlike stores and ammunition. Captain Walker was appointed engineer and Mr. Cumming was concerned as a principal director and promoter of the expedition \*. This little armamen failed in the beginning of March; and in their paffage touched at the island Tenerisse, where, while the ships fupplied

\* On this occasion Mr. Cumming may seem to have acted directly contrar to the tenets of his religious profession; but he ever declared to the ministrathat he was fully persuaded his schemes might be accomplished without the effusion of human blood; and that if he thought otherwise, he would by means have concerned himself about them. He also desired, let the consequence be what it might, his brethren should not be chargeable with what was his own single act.—If it was the first military scheme of any Quaker, let it be remembered it was also the first successful expedition of this war, and one of the first that ever was carried on according to the pacifick system of the Quakers, without the loss of a drop of blood on either side.

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supplied themselves with wine and water, Mr. Cumming proceeded in the Swan floop to Portenderrick, being charged with a letter of credence to his old friend the king of that country, who had favoured him in his last visit with an exclusive trade on that coast, by a formal charter, written in the Arabick language. This prince was now up the country, engaged in a war with his neighbours, called the Diable-Moors \*; and the Queen-Dowager, who remained at Portenderrick, gave Mr. Cumming to understand, that she could not at present spare any troops to join the English in their expedition against Senegal: but the affured him, that should the French be exterminated, the and her subjects would go thither and fettle. In the mean time, one of the chiefs, called Prince Amir, dispatched a messenger to the King, with advice of their arrival and defign. He declared that he would, with all possible diligence, assemble three hundred warriors to join the English troops, and that, in his opinion, the King would re-enforce them with a detachment from his army. By this time Captain Marsh, with the rest of the armament, had arrived at Portenderrick, and fearing that the enemy might receive intimation of his defign, resolved to proceed on the expedition, without waiting for the promifed auxiliaries. On the twenty-fecond day of April he weighed anchor, and next day, at four o'clock, discovered the French flag flying upon Fort-Louis, fituated in the midst of a pretty considerable town, which exhibited a very agreeable appearance. The Commodore having made prize of a Dutch ship richly laden with gum, which lay at anchor without the bar, came to anchor in Senegalroad, at the mouth of the river; and here he perceived feveral armed floops which the enemy had detached to detend the passage of the bar, which is extremely dangerous. All the boats were employed in conveying the stores into the small craft, while three of the sloops continued ex-Vol. IV. changing

<sup>\*</sup> This is the name by which the subjects of Legibelli distinguish those of Brackna, who inhabit the country farther up the river Senegal, and are in constant alliance with the French.

B O O K III. 1758.

changing fire over a narrow tongue of land with the veffels of the enemy, confisting of one brig and six armed floops, mounted with great guns and swivels. At length, the channel being discovered, and the wind, which generally blows down the river, chopping about, Captain Millar, of the London Buss, seised that opportunity; and passing the bar with a flowing sheet, dropped anchor on the infide, where he lay till night, exposed to the whole fire of the enemy. Next day he was joined by the other fmall veffels, and a regular engagement enfued. was warmly maintained on both fides, until the buffes and one dogger running a-ground, immediately bulged, and were filled with water. Then the troops they contained took to their boats, and with some difficulty reached the shore, where they formed in a body, and were soon joined by their companions from the other veffels; fo that now the whole amounted to three hundred and ninety marines, besides the detachment of artillery. As they laid their account with being attacked by the natives, who lined the shore at some distance, seemingly determined to oppose the descent, they forthwith threw up an entrenchment, and began to difembark the stores, great part of which lay under water. While they were employed in raising this occasional defence, the negroes came in great numbers and fubmitted; and on the fucceeding day they were re-enforced by three hundred and fifty feamen, who passed the bar in sloops, with their ensigns and colours flying.

§ II. They had made no further progress in their operations, when two French deputies arrived at the entrenchment, with proposals for a capitulation from the governour of Fort-Louis. After some hesitation, Captain Marsh and Major Mason agreed, That all the white people belonging to the French company at Senegal should be safely conducted to France in an English vessel, without being deprived of their private essects, provided all the merchandise and uncoined treasure should be delivered up to the victors; victor provif in tha imme promi remai exerci and o it in t to an' bell a flag o they ' they As fo up to lay u made referv to the negro the F the la capit fecor the I gene a fur were piece the I com

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CHAP. IX. 1758.

victors; and that all the forts, store-houses, vessels, arms, provisions, and every article belonging to the company in that river should be put into the hands of the English immediately after the capitulation could be figned. They promifed that the free natives living at Fort-Louis should remain in quiet possession of their effects, and in the free exercise of their religion; and that all negroes, mulattoes, and others, who could prove themselves free, should have it in their option either to remain in the place, or remove to any other part of the country\*. The Captains Campbell and Walker were immediately fent up the river with a flag of truce, to fee the articles figned and executed; but they were so retarded by the rapidity of the stream, that they did not approach the fort till three in the morning. As foon as the day broke they hoisted their flag, and rowed up towards a battery on a point of the island, where they lay upon their oars very near a full hour, beating the chamade; but no notice was taken of their approach. This referve appearing mysterious, they retired down the river to their entrenchment, where they understood that the negroes on the island were in arms, and had blocked up the French in Fort-Louis, refolving to defend the place to the last extremity, unless they should be included in the capitulation. This intelligence was communicated in a lecond letter from the governor, who likewise informed the English commander, that unless the French directorgeneral should be permitted to remain with the natives, as a furety for that article of the capitulation in which they were concerned, they would allow themselves to be cut in pieces rather than submit. This request being granted, the English forces began their march to Fort-Louis, accompanied by a number of long boats, in which the artillery and stores had been embarked. The French seeing them advance immediately struck their flag: and Major T 2

<sup>\*</sup>The victors, however, committed a very great mistake in allowing them to carry off their books and accounts, the perusal of which would have been of infinite service to the English merchants, by informing them of the commodities, their value, the proper seasons, and methods of prosecuting the trade.

## HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

BOOK III. Mason took possession of the castle, where he found ninety. two pieces of cannon, with treasure and merchandise to a confiderable value. The corporation and burghers of the town of Senegal submitted, and swore allegiance to his Britannick Majesty: the neighbouring princes, attended by numerous retinues, vifited the commander, and concluded treaties with the English nation, and the King of Portenderrick, or Legibelli, fent an ambaffador from his camp to Major Mason, with presents, compliments of congratulation, and affurances of friendship. The number of free independent Negroes and Mulattoes fettled at Senegal amounted to three thousand, and many of these enjoyed flaves and possessions of their own. French factories of Podore and Galam, the latter fituated nine hundred miles farther up the river, were included in the capitulation; fo that Great Britain, almost without striking a blow, found herself possessed of a conquest, from which, with proper management, she may derive inconceivable riches. This important acquisition was in a great measure, if not entirely, owing to the sagacity, zeal, and indefatigable efforts of Mr. Cumming, who not only formed the plan, and follicited the armament, but also attended the execution of it in person, at the hazard of his life, and to the interruption of his private concerns.

of III. Fort-Louis being secured with an English garrison, and some armed vessels left to guard the passage of the bar, at the mouth of the river, the great ships proceeded to make an attempt upon the island of Goree, which lies at the distance of thirty leagues from Senegal. There the French company had considerable magazines and warehouses, and lodged the negro slaves until they could be shipped for the West-Indies. If the additional force which Mr. Cumming proposed for the conquest of this island had been added to the armament, in all probability the island would have been reduced, and in that case, the nation would have saved the considerable expense of a subsequent expedition against it, under the conduct of Commo-

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dore Keppel. At present, the ships by which Goree was attacked were found unequal to the attempt, and the expedition miscarried accordingly, though the miscarriage was attended with little or no damage to the assailants. C H A P. IX.

N. Scenes of still greater importance were acted in North-America, where, exclusive of the fleet and marines, the government had affembled about fifty thousand men, including two-and-twenty thousand regular troops. Earl of Loudoun having returned to England, the chief command in America devolved on Major-General Abercrombie; but as the objects of operation were various, the forces were divided into three detached bodies, under as many different commanders. About twelve thousand were defined to undertake the fiege of Louisbourg, on the island of Cape-Breton. The general himself reserved near fixteen thousand for the reduction of Crown-Point, a fort situated on lake Champlain: eight thousand, under the conduct of Brigadier-General Forbes, were allotted for the conquest of Fort du Quesne, which stood a great way to the southward, near the river Ohio; and a confiderable garrifon was left at Annapolis, in Nova-Scotia. The reduction of Louisbourg and the island of Cape-Breton being an object of immediate confideration, was undertaken with all possible dispatch. Major-General Amherst being joined by Admiral Boscawen, with the fleet and forces from England, the whole armament, confifting of one hundred and hfty-seven sail, took their departure from the harbour of Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, on the twenty-eighth of May, and on the fecond of June part of the transports anchored in the bay of Gabarus, about seven miles to the westward of Louisbourg. The garrison of this place, commanded by the Chevalier Drucour, confifted of two thousand five hundred regular troops, three hundred militia, formed of the burghers, and towards the end of the fiege they were re-enforced by three hundred and fifty Canadians, including threefcore Indians. The harbour was fecured

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BOOK III. 1758.

by fix ships of the line\*, and five frigates, three of which the enemy funk across the harbour's mouth, in order to render it inaccessible to the English shipping. The fortifications were in bad repair, many parts of them crumbling down the covered way, and feveral bastions exposed in fuch a manner as to be enfiladed by the beliegers, and no part of the town fecure from the effects of cannonading and bombardment. The governor had taken all the precautions in his power to prevent a landing, by establishing a chain of posts, that extended two leagues and a half along the most accessible parts of the beach: entrenchments being thrown up, and batteries erected; but there were fome intermediate places which could not be properly fecured, and in one of these the English troops were difembarked, The disposition being made for landing, a detachment, in feveral floops, under convoy, paffed by the mouth of the harbour towards Lorembec, in order to draw the enemy's attention that way, while the landing should really be effected on the other side of the town. On the eighth day of June, the troops being affembled in the boats before day-break, in three divisions, several floops and frigates, that were stationed along shore in the bay of Gabarus, began to scour the beach with their shot; and after the fire had continued about a quarter of an hour, the boats, containing the division on the left, were rowed towards the shore, under the command of Brigadier-General Wolfe, an accomplished officer, who, in the fequel, displayed very extraordinary proofs of military genius. At the fame time the two other divisions, on the right and in the centre, commanded by the Brigadiers Whitmore and Laurence, made a show of landing, in order to divide and distract the enemy. Notwithstanding an impetuous surf, by which many boats were overfet, and a very fevere fire of cannon and musketry from the enemy's batteries, which

Comment.

The Prudent, of feventy-four guns; the Entreprenant, of feventy-four guns; the Capricieux, Celebre, and Bienfaifant, of fixty-four guns each; the Apollo, of fifty guns; the Chevre, Biche, Fidelle, Diana, and Echo frigates.

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did confiderable execution, Brigadier Wolfe purfued his point with admirable courage and deliberation. The foldiers leaped into the water with the most eager alacrity, and, gaining the shore, attacked the enemy in such a manner, that in a few minutes they abandoned their works and artillery, and fled in the utmost confusion. The other divisions landed also, but not without an obstinate oppofition; and the stores, with the artillery, being brought on shore, the town of Louisbourg was formally invested, The difficulty of landing stores and implements in boisterous weather, and the nature of the ground, which, being marshy, was unfit for the conveyance of heavy cannon, retarded the operations of the fiege. Mr. Amherst made his approaches with great circumspection, securing his camp with redoubts and epaulements from any attacks of Canadians, of which he imagined there was a confiderable body behind him on the illand, as well as from the fire of the French shipping in the harbour, which would otherwife have annoyed him extremely in his advances.

§ V. The governor of Louisbourg having destroyed the grand battery, which was detached from the body of the place, and recalled his out-posts, prepared for making a vigorous defence. A very severe fire, well directed, was maintained against the besiegers and their works, from the town, the island battery, and the ships in the harbour; and divers fallies were made, though without much effect. In the mean time Brigadier Wolfe, with a strong detachment, had marched round the north-east part of the harbour, and taken possession of the Lighthouse-point, where he erected several batteries against the ships and the island tortification, which last was soon silenced. On the nineteenth day of June the Echo, a French frigate, was taken by the English cruifers, after having escaped from the harbour: from the officers on board of this ship the Admiral learned that the Bizarre, another frigate, had failed from thence on the day of the disembarkation, and the Comete had fuccessfully followed her example. Besides the regufar approaches to the town, conducted by the engineers

under

BOOK III. 1758. under the immediate command and inspection of General Amherst, divers batteries were raised by the detached corps under Brigadier Wolfe, who exerted himself with amazing activity, and grievously incommoded the enemy, both of the town and the shipping. On the twenty-first day of July the three great ships, the Entreprenant, Capricieux, and Celebre, were fet on fire by a bomb-shell, and burned to ashes, so that none remained but the Prudent and Bienfaifant, which the Admiral undertook to destroy. For this purpose, in the night between the twenty-fifth and twenty-fixth days of the month, the boats of the fquadron were in two divisions detached into the harbour, under the command of two young captains, Laforey and Bal-They accordingly penetrated, in the dark, through a terrible fire of cannon and musquetry, and boarded the enemy fword in hand. The Prudent, being a-ground, was fet on fire, and destroyed, but the Bienfaisant was towed out of the harbour in triumph. In the profecution of the fiege, the admiral and general co-operated with remarkable harmony; the former chearfully affifting the latter with cannon and other implements; with detachments of marines to maintain posts on shore, with parties of seamen to act as pioneers, and concur in working the guns and mor-The fire of the town was managed with equal skill and activity, and kept up with great perseverance; until at length, their shipping being all taken or destroyed, the caferns \* ruined in the two principal bastions, forty out of fifty two pieces of cannon difmounted, broke, or rendered unserviceable, and divers practicable breaches effected, the governour, in a letter to Mr. Amherst, proposed a capitulation on the same articles that were granted to the English at Port-Mahon. In answer to this proposal he was given to understand, that he and his garrison

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<sup>\*</sup> It may not be amifs to observe, that a cavalier, which Admiral K—had built at an enormous expense to the nation, while Louisbourg remained in the hands of the English in the last war, was, in the course of this siege, entirely demolished by two or three shots from one of the British batteries; so admirably had this piece of fortification been contrived and executed, under the eye of that profound engineer.

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must surrender themselves prisoners of war, otherwise he might next morning expect a general affault by the shipping under Admiral Boscawen. The Chevalier Drucour, piqued at the feverity of these terms, replied, that he would, rather than comply with them, ftand an affault; but the commiffary-general, and intendant of the colony, presented a petition from the traders and inhabitants of the place, in consequense of which he submitted. On the wenty-feventh day of July three companies of grenadiers, commanded by Major Farquhar, took possession of the western gate; and Brigadier Whitmore was detached into the town, to fee the garrison lay down their arms and deliver up their colours on the esplanade, and to post the necessary guards on the stores, magazines, and ramparts. Thus, at the expence of about four hundred men killed and wounded, the English obtained possession of the important island of Cape-Breton, and the strong town of Louisbourg, in which the victors found two hundred and twenty-one pieces of cannon, with eighteen mortars, and a confiderable quantity of stores and ammunition. merchants and inhabitants were fent to France in English bottoms, but the garrison, together with the sea-officers. marines, and mariners, amounting in all to five thousand fix hundred and thirty-feven prisoners, were transported to England. The loss of Louisbourg was the more severely felt by the French King, as it had been attended with the destruction of so many considerable ships and frigates. The particulars of this transaction were immediately brought to England, in a vessel dispatched for that purpose, with Captain Amherst, brother to the commander. who was also entrusted with eleven pair of colours taken at Louisbourg: these were, by his Majesty's order, carried in pompous parade, escorted by detachments of horse and foot guards, with kettle-drums and trumpets, from the palace of Kenfington to St. Paul's cathedral, where they were deposited as trophies, under a discharge of cannon, and other noisy expressions of triumph and exulta-Indeed, the publick rejoicings for the conquest of Louisbourg

175%.

B O O K III. 1758.

Louisbourg were diffused through every part of the British dominions, and addresses of congratulation were presented to the King by a great number of flourishing towns

and corporations.

6 VI. After the reduction of Cape-Breton, some ships were detached, with a body of troops under the command of Lieutenant Colonel Lord Rollo, to take possession of the island of St. John, which also lies in the gulf of St. Laurence, and, by its fertility in corn and cattle, had fince the beginning of the war supplied Quebeck with confiderable quantities of provision. It was likewise the afylum to which the French neutrals of Annapolis fled for shelter from the English government; and the retreat from whence they and the Indians used to make their fudden irruptions into Nova-Scotia, where they perpetrated the most inhuman barbarities on the defenceless subjects of Great Britain. The number of inhabitants amounted to four thousand one hundred, who submitted, and brought in their arms: then Lord Rollo took poffession of the governour's quarters, where he found several scalps of Englishmen, whom the favages had affassinated, in confequence of the encouragement they received from their French patrons and allies, who gratified them with a certain premium for every scalp they produced. The island was stocked with above ten thousand head of black cattle, and some of the farmers raised each twelve hundred bushels of corn annually for the market of Quebeck.

of Louisbourg and St. John was not a little checked by the disaster which befel the main body of the British forces in America, under the immediate conduct of General Abercrombie, who, as we have already observed, had proposed the reduction of the French forts on the lakes George and Champlain, as the chief objects of his enterprise, with a view to secure the frontier of the British colonies, and open a passage for the suture conquest of Canada. In the beginning of July his forces, amounting to near seven thousand regular troops, and ten thousand

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fand provincials, embarked on the lake George, in the CHAP. neighbourhood of Lake Champlain, on board of nine hundred batteaus, and one hundred and thirty-five whaleboats, with provision, artillery, and ammunition; several pieces of cannon being mounted on rafts to cover the purposed landing, which was next day effected without opposition. The general's defign was to invest Ticonderoga, a fort fituated on a tongue of land, extending between Lake George and a narrow gut that communicates with Lake Champlain. This fortification was, on three fides, furrounded with water, and in front nature had fecured it with a morafs. The English troops being disembarked, were immediately formed into three columns, and began their march to the enemy's advanced post, confisting of one battalion, encamped behind a breastwork of logs, which they now abandoned with precipitation, after having fet them on fire, and burned their tents and implements. The British forces continued their march in the fame order; but the route lying through a thick wood that did not admit of any regular progression or passage, and the guides proving extremely ignorant, the troops were bewildered, and the columns broken by falling in one upon another. Lord Howe being advanced at the head of the right centre column, encountered a French detachment who had likewise lost their way in the retreat from the advanced post, and a warm skirmish ensuing, the enemy were routed with confiderable lofs, a good number were killed, and one hundred and forty-eight were taken prisoners, including five officers. This petty advantage was dearly bought with the loss of Lord Howe, who fell in the beginning of the action, unspeakably regretted as a young nobleman of the most promising talents, who had diffinguished himself in a peculiar manner by his courage, activity, and rigid observation of military discipline, and had acquired the esteem and affection of the soldiery by his generofity, fweetness of manners, and engaging ad-The general perceiving the troops were greatly satigued and disordered from want of rest and refreshment, thought

1758.

BOOK III. thought it adviseable to march back to the landing place, which they reached about eight in the morning. Then he detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, with one regular regiment, fix companies of the Royal Americans, with the batteau-men, and a body of rangers, to take poffession of a saw-mill in the neighbourhood of Ticon. deroga, which the enemy had abandoned. This post being fecured, the general advanced again towards Ticonderoga, where he understood from the prisoners the enemy had affembled eight battalions, with a body of Canadians and Indians, amounting in all to fix thousand. These, they faid, being encamped before the fort, were employed in making a formidable entrenchment, where they intended to wait for a re-enforcement of three thousand men, who had been detached under the command of M. de Levi, to make a diversion on the side of the Mohawk river \*; but upon intelligence of Mr. Abercrombie's approach, were now recalled for the defence of Ticonderoga. This information determined the English general to strike, if possible, some decisive stroke before the junction could be effected. He, therefore, early next morning fent his engineer across the river on the opposite side of the fort, to reconnoitre the enemy's entrenchments, and he reported, that the works being still unfinished, might be attempted with a good prospect of success. A disposition was made accordingly for the attack, and after proper guards had been left at the faw mill and the landing-place, the whole army was put in motion. They advanced with great alacrity towards the entrenchment, which, however, they found altogether impracticable. The breast-work was raifed eight feet high, and the ground before it covered with an abbattis, or felled trees, with their boughs pointing outwards, and projecting in fuch a manner as to render the entrenchment almost inaccessible. Notwithstanding these

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<sup>\*</sup> This officer intended to have made an irruption through the pass of Oneida on the Mohawks river, but was recalled before he could execute his defign. General Abercrombie afterwards sent thither Brigadier Stanwin, with a considerable body of Provincials: and this important pass was fewered by a fort built at that juncture.

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thele discouraging difficulties, the British troops marched C HA P. up to the affault with an undaunted resolution, and suftained a terrible fire without flinching. They endeavoured to cut their way through these embarrasments with their fwords, and some of them even mounted the parapet; but the enemy were so well covered, that they could deliberately direct their fire without the least danger to themselves: the carnage was therefore considerable, and the troops began to fall into confusion, after several repeated attacks, which lasted above four hours, under the most disadvantageous circumstances. The general, by this time, faw plainly that no hope of success remained; and, in order to prevent a total defeat, took measures for the retreat of the army, which retired unmolested to their former camp, with the loss of about eighteen hundred men killed or wounded, including a great number of officers. Every corps of regular troops behaved, on this unfortunate occasion, with remarkable intrepidity, but the greatest loss was sustained by Lord John Murray's Highland regiment, of which above one half of the private men, and twenty-five officers, were either flain upon the fpot, or desperately wounded. Mr. Abercrombie, unwilling to tay in the neighbourhood of the enemy with forces which had received fuch a dispiriting check, retired to his batteaus, and re-embarking the troops, returned to the camp at Lake-George, from whence he had taken his departure. Cenfure, which always attends miscarriage, did not spare the character of this commander; his attack was condemned as rash, and his retreat as pusillanimous. fuch cases, allowance must be made for the peevishness of disappointment, and the clamour of connexion. far Mr. Abercrombie acquitted himself in the duty of a general we shall not pretend to determine; but if he could depend upon the courage and discipline of his forces, he lurely had nothing to fear, after the action, from the attempts of the enemy, to whom he would have been fuperior in number, even though they had been joined by the expected re-enforcement: he might, therefore, have re-

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BOOK mained on the spot, in order to execute some other enterprise when he should be re-enforced in his turn; for General Amherst no sooner heard of his disaster than he returned with the troops from Cape-Breton to New Eng. land, after having left a strong garrifon in Louisbourg. At the head of fix regiments he began his march to Albany, about the middle of September, in order to join the forces on the lake, that they might undertake some other fervice before the feafon should be exhausted.

> 6 VIII. In the mean time, General Abercrombie had detached Lieutenant-Colonel Bradstreet, with a body of three thousand men, chiefly Provincials, to execute a plan which this officer had formed against Cadaraqui, or Fort-Frontenac, fituated on the north fide of the river St. Laurence, just where it takes its origin from the Lake Ontario. To the fide of this lake he penetrated with his detachment, and embarking in fome floops and batteaus, provided for the purpose, landed within a mile of Fort-Frontenac, the garrison of which, confisting of one hundred and ten men, with a few Indians, immediately furrendered at discretion. Confidering the importance of this post, which, in a great measure, commanded the mouth of the river St. Laurence, and ferved as a magazine to the more fouthern castles, the French general was inexcuseable for leaving it in fuch a defenceless condition. The fortification itself was inconfiderable and ill contived; nevertheless, it contained fixty pieces of cannon, sixteen small mortars, with an immense quantity of merchandise and provisions, deposited for the use of the French forces detached against Brigadier Forbes, their western garrisons, and Indian allies, as well as for the sublistence of the corps commanded by M. de Levi, on his enterprise against the Mr. Bradstreet not only reduced the fort Mohawk river. without bloodshed, but also made himself master of all the enemy's shipping on the lake, amounting to nine armed vessels, some of which carried eighteen guns. Two of these Mr. Bradstreet conveyed to Oswego, whither he returned with his troops, after he had destroyed Fort-Frontenac,

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Frontenac, with all the artillery, stores, provision, and CHAP. merchandize which it contained. In confequence of this exploit, the French troops to the fouthward were exposed to the hazard of starving; but it is not easy to conceive the general's reason for giving orders to abandon and destroy a fort, which, if properly strengthened and sustained, might have rendered the English masters of the Lake Ontario, and grievously harrassed the enemy, both in their commerce, and expeditions to the westward. Indeed, great part of the Indian trade centered at Frontenac, to which place the Indians annually repaired from all parts of America, some of them at the distance of a thousand miles, and here exchanged their furs for European commodities. much did the French traders excel the English in the art of conciliating the affection of those favage tribes, that great part of them, in their yearly progress to this remote market, actually passed by the British settlement of Albany, in New-York, where they might have been supplied with what articles they wanted much more cheap than they could purchase them at Frontenac or Montreal: nay, the French traders used to furnish themselves with these very commodities from the merchants of New-York, and found this traffick much more profitable than that of procuring the same articles from France, loaded with the expence of a tedious and dangerous navigation, from the to the fource of the river St. Laurence.

IX. In all probability, the destruction of Frontenac acilitated the expedition against Fort du Quesne, entrusted the conduct of Brigadier Forbes, who, with his little army, began his march in the beginning of July from Philadelphia for the river Ohio, a prodigious tract of counry very little known, destitute of military roads, incumbered with mountains, moraffes, and woods, that were lmost impenetrable. It was not without incredible exttion of industry that he procured provisions and carlages for this expedition, formed new roads, extended couting parties, fecured cams, and furmounted many ther difficulties in the course of his tedious march, during

which

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BOOK III. which he was also harraffed by fmall detachments of the enemy's Indians. Having penetrated with the main body as far as Ray's-Town, at the distance of ninety miles from Fort du Quesne, and advanced Colonel Bouquet, with two thousand men, about fifty miles farther, to a place called Lyal-Henning, this officer detached Major Grant, at the head of eight hundred men, to reconnoitre the fort and its out-works. The enemy perceiving him approach. fent a body of troops against him, sufficient to surround his whole detachment: a very fevere action began, which the English maintained with their usual courage for three hours, against cruel odds; but at length, being overpowered by numbers, they were obliged to give way, and retired in disorder to Lyal-Henning, with the loss of about three hundred men killed or taken, including Major Grant, who was carried prisoner to Fort du Quesne, and nineteer officers. Notwithstanding this mortifying check, Briga dier Forbes advanced with the army, refolved to profecut his operations with vigour; but the enemy, dreading th prospect of a siege, dismantled and abandoned the for and retired down the river Ohio, to their fettlements of the Mississippi. They quitted the fort on the twenty fourth day of November, and next day it was poffeffedb the British forces. As for the Indians of this country they feemed heartily to renounce their connexions wit France, and be perfectly reconciled to the government his Britannick Majesty. Brigadier Forbes having to paired the fort, changed its name from Du Queinet Pittsburgh, secured it with a garrison of provincials, an concluded treaties of friendship and alliance with the dian tribes. Then he marched back to Philadelphia, an in his retreat built a blockhouse, near Lyal-Henning, h the defence of Pennfylvania; but he himself did not los furvive these transactions, his constitution having bee exhausted by the incredible fatigues of the service. The have we given a particular detail of all the remarkab operations by which this campaign was diffinguished the continent of America: the reader will be convince

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that, notwithstanding the defeat at Ticonderoga, and the CHAP. dilafter of the advanced party in the neighbourhood of Fort du Quesne, the arms of Great-Britain acquired many important advantages; and, indeed, paved the way for the reduction of Quebeck, and conquest of all Canada. the mean time, the Admirals Boscawen and Hardy, having lest a considerable squadron at Halifax, in Nova-Scotia, returned with four ships of the line to England, where they arrived in the beginning of November, after having given chase to fix large French ships, which they descried to the westward of Scilly, but could not overtake or bring to an engagement.

(X. The conquest of the French settlements in the river Senegal being deemed imperfect and incomplete, whilft France still kept possession of the island of Goree, the ministry of Great-Britain resolved to crown the campaign in Africa with the reduction of that fortress. his purpose Commodore Keppel, brother to the Earl of Albemarle, was vested with the command of a squadron, confisting of four ships of the line, several frigates, two omb-ketches, and some transports, having on board seven hundred men of the regular troops, commanded by Colonel Worge, and embarked in the harbour of Cork in Ireland, nomwhence this whole armament took their departure on he eleventh day of November. After a tempestuous passage, in which they touched at the isle of Teneriffe, bey arrived at Goree in the latter end of December, and he Commodore made a disposition for attacking this land, which was remarkably strong by nature, but very adifferently fortified. Goree is a small barren island, stending about three quarters of a mile in length, of a riangular form; and on the fouth-west side rising into a ocky hill, on which the paltry fort of St. Michael is ituated. There is another, still more inconsiderable, alled St. Francis, towards the other extremity of the land; and several batteries were raised around its sweep, mounted with about one hundred pieces of cannon, and our mortars. The French governour, M. de St. Jean, VOL. IV.

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had great plenty of ammunition, and his garrison amounted to about three hundred men, exclusive of as many negro inhabitants. The flat-bottomed boats, for difembarking the troops, being hoisted out, and disposed along-fide of the different transports, the Commodore stationed his ships on the west-side of the island, and the engagement began with a shell from one of the ketches. This was a fignal for the great ships, which poured in their broadsides without intermission, and the fire was returned with equal vivacity from all the batteries of the island. In the course of the action the cannonading from the ships became so fevere and terrible, that the French garrison deferted their quarters, in spite of all the efforts of the governour, who acquitted himself like a man of honour; but hewas obliged to strike his colours, and furrender at diferetion, after a short but warm dispute, in which the loss of the British Commodore did not exceed one hundred men killed and wounded. The fuccess of the day was the more extraordinary, as the French garrison had not lost a man, except one negro killed by the burfting of a bomb-shell, and the number of their wounded was very inconfiderable. While the attack lasted, the opposite shore of the continent was lined with a concourse of negroes, assembled to view the combat, who expressed their fentiments and surprise in loud clamour and uncouth gesticulations, and seemed to be impressed with awe and astonishment at the power and execution of the British squadron. The French colours being struck, as a fignal of submission, the Commodore fent a detachment of marines on shore, who disarmed the garrison, and hoisted the British flag upon the castle of St. Michael. In the mean time, the governour and the relt of the prisoners were secured among the shipping. Thus the important island of Goree fell into the hands of the English, together with two trading vessels that chanced to be at anchor in the road, and stores, money, and merchandise to the value of twenty thousand pounds. Part of the troops being left in garrison at Goree, under the command of Major Newton, together with three floops

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for his fervice, the fquadron being watered and refreshed from the continent, that part of which is governed by one of the Jalof kings, and the prisoners, with their baggage, being dismissed in three cartel ships to France, the Commodore fet fail for Senegal, and re-enforced Fort-Louis with the rest of the troops, under Colonel Worge, who was at this juncture favoured with a visit by the King of Legibelli: but very little pains were taken to difmifs this potentate in good humour, or maintain the disposition he professed to favour the commerce of Great-Britain. True it is, he was desirous of engaging the English in his quarrels with fome neighbouring nations; and fuch engagements were cautiously and politically avoided, because it was the interest of Great-Britain to be upon good terms with every African prince who could promote and extend the commerce of her subjects.

§ XI. Commodore Keppel having reduced Goree, and re-enforced the garrison of Senegal, returned to England, where all his ships arrived, after a very tempestuous voyage, in which the squadron had been dispersed. dition, however successful in the main, was attended with one misfortune, the loss of the Lichfield ship of war, commanded by Captain Barton, which, together with one transport and a bomb-tender, was wrecked on the coast of Barbary, about nine leagues to the northward of Saffy, in the dominions of Morocco. One hundred and thirtymen, including feveral officers, perished on this occasion; but the captain and the rest of the company, to the number of two hundred and twenty, made shift to reach the shore, where they ran the rifque of starving, and were cruelly used by the natives, although a treaty of peace at that time substifted between Great-Britain and Morocco; nay, they were even enflaved by the Emperor, who detained them in captivity until they were ransomed by the British government: so little dependence can be placed on the faith of fuch barbarian princes, with whom it is even a difgrace for any civilifed nation to be in alliance, whatever commercial advantages may arise from the connexion.

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§ XII. The incidents of the war that happened in the West-Indies, during these occurrences, may be reduced to a small compass. Nothing extraordinary was atchieved in the neighbourhood of Jamaica, where Admiral Coates commanded a small squadron, from which he detached cruifers occasionally for the protection of the British commerce; and at Antigua the trade was effectually fecured by the vigilance of Captain Tyrrel, whose courage and activity were equal to his conduct and circumfpection. In the month of March, this gentleman, with his own ship the Buckingham, and the Cambridge, another of the line, demolished a fort on the island of Martinique, and destroyed four privateers riding under its protection; but his valour appeared much more conspicuous in a subsequent engagement, which happened in the month of November. Being detached on a cruife in his own ship, the Buckingham, by Commodore Moore, who commanded at the Leeward Islands, he fell in with the Weazle floop, commanded by Captain Boles, between the islands of Montserrat and Guadaloupe, and immediately discovered afleet of nineteen fail, under convoy of a French ship of war carrying seventyfour cannon, and two large frigates. Captain Tyrrel immediately gave chase with all the fail he could carry, and the Weazle running close to the enemy, received a whole broadfide from the large ship, which, however, she sustained without much damage: nevertheless, Mr. Tyrrel ordered her commander to keep aloof, as he could not be supposed able to bear the shock of large metal, and he himself prepared for the engagement. The enemy's large ship, the Florissant, though of much greater force than the Buckingham, instead of lying-to for his coming up, made a running fight with her stern-chase, while the two frigates annoyed him in his course, sometimes raking him fore and aft, and fometimes lying on his quarter. At length he came along-fide of the Florisfant, within piftol shot, and poured in a whole broadfide, which did considerable The falutation was returned with equal execution. Captain vivacity, and a furious engagement enfued. Tyrrel MX 3

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Tyrrel was wounded in the face, and loft three fingers of C H A P. his right hand; fo that, being entirely disabled, he was obliged to delegate the command of the ship to his first lieutenant, Mr. Marshal, who continued the battle with great gallantry until he loft his life: then the charge devolved to the fecond lieutenant, who acquitted himfelf with equal honour, and fustained a desperate fight against three ships of the enemy. The officers and crew of the Buckingham exerted themselves with equal vigour and deliberation, and Captain Troy, who commanded a detachment of marines on the poop, plied his small arms fo effectually, as to drive the French from their quarters. At length confusion, terrour, and uproar prevailing on board the Florissant, her firing ceased, and her colours were hauled down about twilight; but her commander, perceiving that the Buckingham was too much damaged in her rigging to purfue with any hope of fuccess, ordered all his fails to be fet, and fled in the dark with his two conforts. Nothing but this circumstance could have prevented a British ship of sixty-five guns, indifferently manned in respect to number, from taking a French ship of the line, mounted with feventy-four pieces of cannon, provided with feven hundred men, and affifted by two large frigates, one of thirty-eight guns, and the other wanting two of The lofs of the Buckingham, in this this number. action, did not exceed twenty men killed and wounded; whereas, the number of the flain on board the Florisfant did not fall short of one hundred and eighty, and that of her wounded is faid to have exceeded three hundred. She was fo disabled in her hull, that she could hardly be kept affoat until she reached Martinique, where she was repaired; and the largest frigate, together with the loss of forty men, received such damage as to be for some time quite unserviceable.

§ XIII. In the East-Indies the transactions of the war were chequered with a variety of fuccess; but, on the whole, the defigns of the enemy were entirely defeated. The French commander, M. de Bussy, had, in the year one

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thousand seven hundred and fifty-fix, quarrelled with Salabatzing, viceroy of Decan, because this last would not put him in possession of the fortress of Golconda. In the course of the next year, while the English forces were employed in Bengal, M. de Buffy made himself master of the British factories of Ingeram, Bandermalanka, and Vizagapatam, and the reduction of this last left the enemy in possession of the whole coast of Coromandel, from Ganjam to Maffulapatam. While a body of the English company's forces, under Captain Caillaud, endeavoured to reduce the important fortreis and town of Madura, the French, under M. D'Anteuil, invested Trichinopoly. Caillaud no fooner received intelligence of the danger to which this place was exposed, than he hastened to its relief, and obliged the enemy to abandon the fiege. Then he returned to Madura, and, after an unsuccessful affault, made himself master of it by capitulation. During these transactions, Colonel Ford made an attempt upon the fort of Nelloure, a strong place, at the distance of twentyfour miles from Madras, but miscarried; and this was also the fate of an expedition against Wandewash, undertaken by Colonel Aldercron. The first was repulsed in storming the place, theother was anticipated by the French army, which marched from Pondicherry to the relief of the garrison. The French king had fent a confiderable re-enforcement to the East-Indies, under the command of General Lally, an officer of Irish extraction, together with fuch a number of ships as rendered the squadron of M. d'Apché superior to that of Admiral Pococke, who had fucceeded Admiral Watson, lately deceased, in the command of the English squadron stationed on the coast of Coromandel, which, in the beginning of this year, was re-enforced from England with several ships, under the direction of Commodore Stevens. Immediately after this junction, which was effected in the road of Madras on the twenty-fourth day of March, Admiral Pococke, who had already fignalized himfelf by his courage, vigilance, and conduct, failed to windward, with a view to intercept ith

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the French squadron, of which he had received intelligence. In two days he descried in the road of Fort St. David the enemy's fleet, confisting of nine ships, which immediately stood out to fea, and formed the line of battle The Admiral took the same precaution, and bearing down upon M. d'Apché, the engagement began about three in the afternoon. The French commodore, having fustained a warm action for about two hours, bore away with his whole fleet, and being joined by two ships, formed a line of battle again to leeward. Admiral Pococke's own ship, and some others, being greatly damaged in their masts and rigging, two of his captains having misbehaved in the action, and night coming on, he did not think it adviseable to pursue them with all the fail he could carry; but, nevertheless, he followed them at a proper distance, fanding to the fouth-west, in order to maintain the weather-gage, in case he should be able to renew the action in the morning. In this expectation, however, he was disappointed; the enemy showed no lights, nor made any fignals that could be observed; and in the morning not the least vestige of them appeared. Mr. Pococke, on the supposition that they had weathered him in the night, endeavoured to work up after them to windward, but finding he left ground confiderably, he dropped anchor about three leagues to the northward of Sadras, and received intelligence from the chief of that fettlement, that one of the largest French ships having been disabled in the engagement, was run ashore to the southward of Alemparve, where their whole fquadron lay at anchor. was the issue of the first action between the English and French squadrons in the East-Indies, which, over and above the loss of a capital ship, is said to have cost the enemy about five hundred men, whereas the British admiral did not lose one-fifth part of that number. Being dislatisfied with the behaviour of three captains, he, on his return to Madras, appointed a court-martial to enquire into their conduct; two were dismissed from the service,

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B O O K III. and the third was sentenced to lose one year's rank as a post-captain.

§ XIV. In the mean time Mr. Lally had difembarked his troops at Pondicherry, and taking the field, immediately invested the fort of St. David, while the squadron blocked it up by fea. Two English ships being at anchor in the road when the enemy arrived, their captains feeing no possibility of escaping, ran them on shore, set them on fire, and retired with their men into the fortress, which, however, was in a few days furrendered. A much more refolute defence was expected from the courage and conduct of Major Polier, who commanded the garrison. When he arrived at Madras he was subjected to a court of enquiry, which acquitted him of cowardice, but were of opinion that the place might have held out much longer, and that the terms on which it furrendered were shameful, as the enemy were not even masters of the outward covered way, as they had made no breach, and had a wet ditch to fill up and pass, before the town could have been properly assaulted. Polier, in order to wipe off this disgrace, defired to ferve as a volunteer, with Colonel Draper, and was mortally wounded in a fally at the fiege of Madras. Admiral Pococke having, to the best of his power, repaired his shattered ships, set sail again on the tenth of May, in order to attempt the relief of Fort St. David's; but, notwithstanding his utmost endeavours, he could not reach it in time to be of any fervice. On the thirtieth day of the month he came in fight of Pondicherry, from whence the French squadron stood away early next morning, nor was it in his power to come up with them, though he made all possible efforts for that purpose. Then receiving intelligence that Fort St. David's was furrendered to the enemy, he returned again to Madras, in order to refresh his squadron. On the twenty-fifth day of July, he failed a third time in quest of M. d'Apche, and, in two days perceived his fquadron, confifting of eight ships of the line and a frigate, at anchor in the road of Pondicherry. They no fooner descried him advancing than they stood out to fe2 fea as bef bringing 1 proved fr obtained. order of 1 tuofity of M. d'Apo fquadron ning figh then hois enemy pe and crow escaped b and Mr. a French victory, v and fixte Captain! The nur fquadro and fort the beg the islan car, in vereignt fleet, fro inferior men, a

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fea as before, and he continued to chase, in hopes of CHAP. bringing them to an engagement; but all his endeavours proved fruitless till the third day of August, when having obtained the weather-gage, he bore down upon them in order of battle. The engagement began with great impetuofity on both fides, but in little more than ten minutes M. d'Apché set his fore-sail, and bore away, his whole fquadron following his example, and maintaining a running fight in a very irregular line. The British Admiral then hoisted the fignal for a general chase, which the enemy perceiving, thought proper to cut away their boats, and crowd with all the fail they could carry. They escaped by favour of the night into the road of Pondicherry, and Mr. Pococke anchored with his fquadron off Carical. a French fettlement, having thus obtained an undisputed victory, with the loss of thirty men killed, and one hundred and fixteen wounded, including Commodore Stevens and Captain Martin, though their wounds were not dangerous. The number of killed and wounded on board the French fquadron amounted, according to report, to five hundred and forty; and their fleet was fo much damaged, that in the beginning of September their commodore failed for the island of Bourbon, in the same latitude with Madagascar, in order to refit; thus leaving the command and fovereignty of the Indian feas to the English admiral, whose fleet, from the beginning of this campaign, had been much inferior to the French fquadron in number of ships and men, as well as in weight of metal.

§ XV. Mr. Lally having reduced Cuddalore and Fort St. David's\*, refolved to extort a fum of money from the King of Tanjour, on pretence that, in the last war, he had granted an obligation to the French governour for a certain fum, which had never been paid. Lally accordingly marched with a body of three thousand men into the dominions of Tanjour, and demanded feventy-two lack of

\*Cuddalore was in such a defenceless condition, that it could make no relistance : and there being no place in Fort St. David's bomb-proof, nor any provisions or fresh water, the garrison surrendered in twelve days, on capitulation, after having sustained a severe bombardment,

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B O O K III. 1758. rupees. The extravagant demand being rejected, he plundered Nagare, a trading town on the fea-coast, and afterwards invested the capital: but after he had prosecuted the fiege until a breach was made, his provisions and ammunition beginning to fail, several vigorous fallies being made by the forces of the King of Tanjour, and the place well defended by European gunners, fent from the English garrison at Trichinopoly, he found himself obliged to raise the siege, and retreat with precipitation, leaving his cannon behind. He arrived at Carical about the middle of August, and from thence retired to Pondicherry towards the end of September. He afterwards cantoned his troops in the province of Arcot, entered the city without opposition, and began to make preparations for the fiege of Madras, which shall be recorded among the incidents of the fucceeding year. In the mean time, the landforces belonging to the East-India company were so much out-numbered by the re-enforcements which arrived with Mr. Lally, that they could not pretend to keep the field, but were obliged to remain on the defensive, and provide as well as they could for the security of Fort St. George, and the other settlements in that part of India.

§ XVI. Having particularised the events of the war which diffinguished this year in America, Africa, and Asia, those remote scenes in which the interest of Great-Britain was immediately and intimately concerned, it now remains to record the incidents of the military operations in Germany, supported by British subsidies, and enforced by British troops, to favour the a defigns of an ally, from whose solitary friendship the British nation can never reap any folid benefit; and to defend a foreign elin whose behalf she had already lavished an immensity of treasure. Notwithstanding the bloodshed and ravages which had fignalised the former campaign, the mutual loffes of the belligerent powers, the incredible expense of money, the difficulty of recruiting armies thinned by fword and distemper, the scarcity of forage and provision, the diffrestes of Saxony in particular, and the calamities of

war, which propositio concerne afperated resentmer indices ro inconfiste which wa of Pruffia Britain fe influence the meml actuated 1 operated preventin Empress-Silefia, w gestions c tion of w measure, of the em house into to invade army. F to see the the empir reason it house of doubt, fet cert with Hanover of thefe. thousand

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war, which defolated the greatest part of the empire, no proposition of peace was hinted by either of the parties concerned, but the powers at variance feemed to be exasperated against each other with the most implacable Jarring interests were harmonised, old preindices rooted up, inveterate jealousies assuaged, and even inconfistencies reconciled, in connecting the confederacy which was now formed and established against the King of Pruffia; and, on the other hand, the King of Great-Britain feemed determined to employ the whole power and influence of his crown in supporting this monarch. Yet the members of the grand confederacy were differently actuated by difagreeing motives, which, in the fequel, operated for the preservation of his Prussian Majesty, by preventing the full exertion of their united strength. The Empress-Queen, over and above her defire of retrieving Silefia, which was her primary aim, gave way to the fuggestions of personal hatred and revenge, to the gratification of which she may be faid to have facrificed, in some measure, the interests of her family, as well as the repose of the empire, by admitting the natural enemies of her house into the Austrian Netherlands, and inviting them to invade the dominions of her co-estates with a formidable army. France, true to her old political maxims, wished to see the house of Austria weakened by the divisions in the empire, which she accordingly fomented: for this reason it could not be her interest to effect the ruin of the house of Brandenburgh; and, therefore, she had, no doubt, fet bounds to the profecution of her schemes in concert with the court of Vienna; but her defigns against Hanover amounted to absolute conquest: in pursuance of these, she fent an army of one hundred and twenty thousand men across the Rhine, instead of four-and-twenty thousand, which she had engaged to furnish by the original treaty with the Empress-Queen of Hungary, who is faid to have shared in the spoils of the electorate. rina, by co-operating with the houses of Bourbon and Austria, gratified her personal disgust towards the Prussian monarch,

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CH AP. IX. B O O K III. 1758. monarch, augmented her finances by confiderable fubfidies from both, and perhaps amused herself with the hope of obtaining an establishment in the German empire; but whether she wavered in her own sentiments, or her ministry fluctuated between the promises of France and the presents of Great-Britain, certain it is, her forces had not acted with vigour in Pomerania; and her General Apraxin, instead of prosecuting his advantage, had retreated immediately after the Prussians miscarried in their attack. He was indeed diffraced, and tried for having thus retired without orders: but in all probability this trial was no other than a farce, acted to amuse the other confederates, while the Empress of Russia gained time to deliberate upon the offers that were made, and determine with regard to the advantages or difadvantages that might accrue to her from perfevering in the engagements which she had contracted. As for the Swedes, although they had been instigated to hostilities against Prussia by the intrigues of France, and flattered with hopes of retrieving Pomerania, they profecuted the war in fuch a dispirited and ineffectual manner, as plainly proved that either the ancient valour of that people was extinct, or that the nation was not heartily engaged in the quarrel.

XVII. When the Ruffian general Apraxin retreated from Pomerania, Mareschal Lehwald, who commanded the Prussians in that country, was left at liberty to turn his arms against the Swedes, and accordingly drove them before him almost without opposition. By the beginning of January they had evacuated all Prussian Pomerania, and Lehwald invaded their dominions in his turn. He, in a little time, made himself master of all Swedish Pomerania, except Stralfund and the isle of Rugen, and posses fed himself of several magazines which the enemy had erected. The Austrian army, after their defeat at Breslau, had retired into Bohemia, where they were cantoned, the head-quarters being fixed at Koningsgratz. King of Prussia having cleared all his part of Silesia except the town of Schweidnitz, which he circumscribed with

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with a blockade, fent detachments from his army cantoned CHAP. in the neighbourhood of Breslau, to penetrate into the Austrian or fouthern part of Silesia, where they surprised Troppau and Jaggernsdorf, while he himself remained at Brellau, entertaining his officers with concerts of musick. Not that he suffered these amusements to divert his attention from subjects of greater importance. He laid Swedish Pomerania under contribution, and made a fresh demand of five hundred thousand crowns from the electo-Having received intimation that the rate of Saxony. Duke of Mecklenbourg was employed in providing magazines for the French army, he detached a body of troops into that country, who not only fecured the magazines. but levied confiderable contributions; and the Duke retired to Lubeck, attended by the French minister. fates of Saxony having proved a little dilatory in obeying his Pruffian Majesty's injunction, received a second intimation, importing, that they should levy and deliver, within a certain time, eighteen thousand recruits for his army, pay into the hands of his commissary one year's revenue of the electorate in advance; and Leipzick was taxed with an extraordinary fubfidy of eight hundred thoufand crowns, on pain of military execution. The States were immediately convoked at Leipzick, in order to deliberate on these demands; and the city being unable to pay such a confiderable sum, the Prussian troops began to put their monarch's threats in execution. He justified these proceedings, by declaring that the enemy had practifed the same violence and oppression on the territories of his allies; but how the practice of his declared enemies, in countries which they had invaded and fubdued in the common course of war, should justify him in pillaging and oppressing a people, with whom neither he nor his allies were at war, it is not easy to conceive. As little can we reconcile this conduct to the character of a prince, affuming the title of Protector of the Protestant Religion, which is the established faith among those very Saxons who were subjected to such grievous impositions; impositions

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BOOK tions the more grievous and unmerited, as they had never taken any share in the present war, but cautiously avoided every step that might be construed into provocation, fince the King of Prussia declared they might depend upon his

protection.

§ XVIII. Before we proceed to enumerate the events of the campaign, it may be necessary to inform the reader, that the forces brought into the field by the Empress-Queen of Hungary, and the States of the Empire, the Czarina. the Kings of France and Sweden, fell very little short of three hundred thousand men; and all these were destined to act against the King of Prussia and the Elector of Hano. ver. In opposition to this formidable confederacy, his Pruffian Majesty was, by the subsidy from England, the fpoils of Saxony, and the revenues of Brandenbourg, enabled to maintain an army of one hundred and forty thoufand men; while the Elector of Hanover affembled a body of fixty thousand men, composed of his own electoral troops, with the auxiliary mercenaries of Hesse-Cassel, Buckebourg, Saxegotha, and Brunswick Wolfenbuttel, all of them maintained by the pay of Great-Britain. juncture, indeed, there was no other fund for their subsistence, as the countries of Hanover and Hesse were posfessed by the enemy, and in the former the government was entirely changed.

§ XIX. In the month of December in the preceding year, a farmer of the revenues from Paris arrived at Hanover, where he established his office, in order to act by virtue of powers from one John Faidy, to whom the French King granted the direction, receipt, and administration of all the duties and revenues of the electorate. rector was, by a decree of the council of state, empowered to receive the revenues, not only of Hanover, but also of all other countries that should be subjected to his Most Christian Majesty in the course of the campaign; to remove the receivers who had been employed in any part of the direction, receipt, and administration of the duties and revenues of Hanover, and appoint others in their room.

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The French King, by the same decree, ordained, that all persons who had been entrusted under the preceding government with titles, papers, accounts, registers, or estimates, relating to the administration of the revenues hould communicate them to John Faidy, or his attornies; that the magistrates of the town, districts, and commonalties, as well as those who directed the administration of particular states and provinces, should deliver to the faid John Faidy, or his attornies, the produce of fix years of the duties and revenues belonging to the faid towns. diffricts, and provinces, reckoning from the first of January in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty one. together with an authentick account of the fums they had paid during that term to the preceding sovereign, and of the charges necessarily incurred. It appears from the nature of this decree, which was dated on the eighteenth day of October, that immediately after the conventions of Clofter-Seven and Bremeworden\*, the court of Verfailles had determined to change the government and fystem of the electorate, contrary to an express article of the capitulation granted to the city of Hanover, when it furrendered on the ninth day of August; and that the crown of France intended to take advantage of the ceffation of arms, in seising places and provinces which were not yet subdued; for, by the decree above mentioned, the administration of John Faidy extended to the countries which might hereafter be conquered. With what regard to justice, then, could the French government charge the Elector of Hanover with the infraction of articles? or what respect to good faith and humanity did the Duke de Richelieu observe, in the order issued from Zell, towards the end of the year, importing, that as the treaty made with the country of Hanover had been rendered void by the violation of the articles figned at Closter-Seven, all the effects belonging to the officers, or others, employed in the Hanoverian army fhould

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<sup>\*</sup> Six days after the convention was figned at Clotter-Seven, another act of commodation was concluded at Bremeworden, between the Generals porcken and Villemur, relating to the release of prisoners, and some other wints omitted in the convention.

BOOK III. 1758. should be confiscated for the use of his Most Christian Majesty?

§ XX. The Landgrave of Heffe-Caffel, being defirous of averting a like from from his dominions, not only promised to renounce all connexion with the Kings of Great-Britain and Prussia, but even follicited the court of France to receive him among the number of its dependants; for, on the eighteenth day of October, the minister of the Duc de Deuxponts delivered at Versailles, in the name of the Landgrave, the plan of a treaty founded on the following The Landgrave, after having expressed an conditions. ardent defire of attaching himself wholly to France, proposed these articles: That he should enter into no engagement against the King and his allies; and give no affistance directly or indirectly to the enemies of his Majesty and his allies: that he should never give his vote, in the general or particular affemblies of the Empire, against his Majefty's interest; but, on the contrary, employ his interest, jointly with France, to quiet the troubles of the Empire: that, for this end, his troops, which had ferved in the Hanoverian army, should engage in the service of France, on condition that they should not act in the present war against his Britannick Majesty: that, immediately after the ratification of the treaty, his Most Christian Majesty should restore the dominions of the Landgrave in the same condition they were in when fubdued by the French forces: that these dominions should be exempted from all further contributions, either in money, corn, forage, wood, or cattle, though already imposed on the subjects of Hesse; and the French troops pay for all the provision with which they might be supplied; in which case the Landgrave should exact no toll for warlike stores, provisions, or other articles of that nature, which might pass through his dominions: that the King of France should guarantee all his estates, all the rights of the house of Hesse-Cassel, particularly the act of affurance figned by his fon, the hereditary prince, with regard to religion; use his interest with the Emperor and the Empress-Queen, that, in consideration

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ation of the immense losses and damages his most serene CHAP. highness had suffered since the French invaded his country, and of the great fums he should lose with England in arrears and subsidies by this accommodation, he might be excused from furnishing his contingent to the army of the Empire, as well as from paying the Roman months granted by the diet of the Empire; and if, in resentment of this convention, the states of his ferene highness should be attacked, his Most Christian Majesty should afford the most speedy and effectual succours. These proposals will speak for themselves to the reader's apprehension; and if he is not blinded by the darkest mists of prejudice, exhibit a clear and distinct idea of a genuine German ally. The Landgrave of Heffe-Caffel had been fed with the good things of England, even in time of peace, when his friendship could not avail, nor his aversion prejudice the interests of Great-Britain: but he was retained in that season of tranquillity as a friend, on whose services the most implicit dependence might be placed in any future form or commotion. How far he merited this confidence and favour might have been determined by reflecting on his conduct during the former war: in the course of which his troops were hired to the King of Great-Britain and his enemies alternately, as the scale of convenience happened to preponderate. Since the commencement of the prefent troubles, he had acted as a mercenary to Great-Britain, although he was a principal in the dispute, and stood connected with her defigns by folemn treaty, as well as by all the ties of gratitude and honour; but now that the cause of Hanover feemed to be on the decline, and his own dominions had fuffered by the fate of the war, he not only appeared willing to abandon his benefactor and ally, but even fued to be inlifted in the fervice of his adverfary. This intended defection was, however, prevented by a ludden turn of fortune, which he could not possibly forefee; and his troops continued to act in conjunction with the Hanoverians.

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6 XXI. The Landgrave of Hesse-Cassel was not singular in making fuch advances to the French monarch. The Duke of Brunswick, still more nearly connected with the King of Great-Britain, used such uncommon expedition in detaching himself from the tottering fortune of Hanover, that in ten days after the convention of Closter-Seven he had concluded a treaty with the courts of Vienna and Verfailles; fo that the negociation must have been begun before that convention took place. On the twentieth day of September his minister at Vienna, by virtue of full powers from the Duke of Brunswick, accepted and figned the conditions which the French King and his Austrian ally thought proper to impose. These imported, That his Most Christian Majesty should keep possession of the cities of Brunfwick and Wolfenbuttel during the war, and make use of the artillery, arms, and military stores deposited in their arsenals: that the Duke's forces, on their return from the camp of the Duke of Cumberland, should be disbanded and disarmed; and take an oath, that they should not, during the present war, serve against the King or his allies: that the Duke should be permitted to maintain a battalion of foot, and two fquadrons of horse, for the guard of his person and castles; but the regulations made by Mareschal Richelieu and the intendant of his army should subsist on their present footing: that the Duke should furnish his contingent in money and troops, agreeably to the laws of the Empire: that his forces should immediately join those which the Germanick body had affembled: and that he should order his minister at Ratifbon to vote conformably to the resolutions of the diet, approved and confirmed by the Emperor. In confideration of all these concessions, the Duke was restored to the favour of the French King, who graciously promised that neither his revenues nor his treasure should be touched, nor the administration of justice invaded; and that nothing further should be demanded, but winter-quarters for the regiments which should pass that season in the country of How fcrupulously foever the Duke might Brunfwick. have

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have intended to observe the articles of this treaty, his CHAP. intentions were frustrated by the conduct of his brother Prince Ferdinand, who, being invested with the command of the Hanoverian army, and ordered to refume the operations of war against the enemy, detained the troops of Brunfwick, as well as his nephew the Hereditary Prince, notwithstanding the treaty which his brother had signed, and the injunctions which he had laid upon his fon to quit the army, and make a tour to Holland. The Duke wrote an expostulatory letter to Prince Ferdinand, pathetically complaining that he had feduced his troops, decoyed his fon, and difgraced his family; infifting upon the prince's pursuing his journey as well as upon the returning the troops: and threatening, in case of non-compliance, to use other means that should be more effectual \*. Notwithstanding

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\* Translation of the letter written by the Duke of Brunswick to his brother Prince Ferdinand:

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"I KNOW you too well to doubt that the fituation in which we fland at present, with respect to each other, gives you abundance of uneasiness; nor will you doubt that it gives me equal concern: indeed, it afflicts me greatly. Mean while I could never, my dearest brother, have believed that you would be the person who should carry away from me my cldest son. I am exceedingly mortified to find myielf under the hard necessity of telling you that this flep is contrary to the law of nations, and the constitutions of the Empire; and that, if you perfift in it, you will difgrace your family, and bring a stain upon your country, which you pretend to ferve. The Hereditary Prince, my fon, was at Hamburgh by my order, and you have carried him to Stade. Could he distrust his uncle, an uncle who hath done so much honour to his family? Could he believe that this uncle would deprive him of liberty, a liberty never refused to the lowest officer: I ordered him to make a tour to Holland: could not the lowest officer have done as much? Let us suppose for a moment, that my troops, among whom he ferved, were to have staid with the Hanoverians, would it not have been still in my power to give an officer leave of absence, or even leave to resign his commission? and would you hinder your brother, the head of your family, and of fuch a family as ours, to exercise this right with regard to a son, who is the Hereditary Prince, of whose rights and prerogatives you cannot be ignorant? It is impossible you could have conceived such designs without the suggestion of others. Those who did suggest them have trampled on the rights of nature, of nations, and of the princes of Germany: they have induced you to add to all these the most cruel insult on a brother whom you love, and who always loved you with the warmest affection. Would you have your broB O O K III. standing this warm remonstrance, Prince Ferdinand adhered to his plan. He detained the troops, and the Hereditary Prince, who, being fond of the service, in a little time signalised himself by very extraordinary acts of bravery and conduct; and means were found to reconcile his father to measures that expressly contradicted his engagements with the courts of Vienna and Versailles.

§ XXII. The defeat of the French army at Rosbach, and the retreat of the Russians from Pomerania, had entirely changed the face of affairs in the Empire. The French King was soon obliged to abandon his conquests on that side of the Rhine, and his threats sounded no longer terrible

ther lay his just complaints against you before the whole Empire, and all Europe? Are not your proceedings without example? What is Germany become? What are its princes become, and our house in particular? Is it the interest of the two kings, the cause of your country, and my cause, that you pretend to support ?- I repeat it, brother, that this design could never have been framed by you. I again command my fon to pursue his journey; and I cannot conceive you will give the least obstruction: if you should (which I pray God avert) I folemnly declare that I will not be constrained by fuch measures, nor shall I ever forget what I owe to myself. As to my troops, you may see what I have written on that head to the Hanoverian ministry. The Duke of Cumberland, by the convention of Closter-Seven, dismissed them, and sent them home: the said ministry gave me notice of this convention, as a treaty by which I was bound. The march of the troops was fettled; and an incident happening, they halted: that obliacle being removed, they were to have continued their march. The court of Hanover will be no longer bound by the convention, while I not only accepted it on their word, but have also, in conformity with their inftructions, negociated at Verfailles, and at Vienna. After all these steps they would have me contradict myself, break my word, and entirely ruin my estate, as well as my honour. Did you ever know your brother guilty of fuch things? True it is, I have, as you fay, facrificed my all; or rather, I have been facrificed. The only thing left me is my honour; and in the unhappy contrast of our fituations, I lament both you and myfelf, that it should be from you, my dear brother, I should receive the cruel advice to give up my honour. I cannot listen to it; I cannot recede from my promise. My troops, therefore, must return home, agreeably to what the Duke of Cumberland and the Hanoverian ministry stipulated with regard to me in the strongest manner. I am afraid that the true circumstances of things are concealed from you. Not to detain your express too long, I shall fend you, by the post, copies of all I have written to the Hanoverian ministry. It will grieve your honest heart to read it. I am, with a heart almost broken, yet fall of tenderness for you, your, &c.

" Blanckenbourg, Nov. 27, 1757."

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terrible in the ears of the Hanoverian and Prussian allies. As little formidable were the denunciations of the Emperor, who had, by a decree of the Aulick council, communicated to the diet certain mandates, iffued in the month of August in the preceding year, on pain of the ban of the Empire, with avocatory letters annexed, against the King of Great-Britain, Elector of Hanover, and the other princes acting in concert with the King of The French court likewise published a virulent memorial, after the convention of Closter-Seven had been violated, and fet afide, drawing an invidious parallel between the conduct of the French King and the proceedings of his Britannick Majesty; in which the latter is taxed with breach of faith, and almost every meanness that could stain the character of a monarch. In answer to the Emperor's decree, and this virulent charge, Baron Gimmengen, the electoral Minister of Brunfwick Lunenbourg, presented to the diet, in November, a long memorial, recapitulating the important fervices his fovereign had done the house of Austria, and the ungrateful returns he had reaped, in the Queen's refusing to affift him, when his dominions were threatened with an invasion. enumerated many inftances in which she had affisted, encouraged, and even joined the enemies of the electorate, in contempt of her former engagements, and directly contrary to the constitution of the Empire. refuted every article of the charge which the French court had brought against him in the virulent libel, retorted the imputations of perfidy and ambition, and with respect to France, justified every particular of his own conduct.

§ XXIII. While the French and Hanoverian armies remained in their winter-quarters, the former at Zell, and the latter at Lunenbourg, divers petty enterprifes were executed by detachments with various fuccefs. The Hanoverian general Juncheim, having taken post at Halberstadt and Quedlimburg, from whence he made excursions even to the gates of Brunswick, and kept the French

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French army in continual alarm, was visited by a large body of the enemy, who compelled him to retire to Acherfleben, committed great excesses in the town of Halber. fladt and its neighbourhood, and carried off hostages for the payment of contributions. General Hardenberg, another Hanoverian officer, having dislodged the French detachments that occupied Burgh, Vogelfack, and Ritterhude, and cleared the whole territory of Bremen, in the month of January the Duke de Broglio affembled a confiderable corps of troops that were cantoned at Otterfburgh, Rothenburg, and the adjacent country, and advancing to Bremen, demanded admittance, threatening, that, in case of a refusal, he would have recourse to extremities, and punish the inhabitants feverely, should they make the least opposition. When their deputies waited upon him, to defire a short time for deliberation, he anfwered, "Not a moment—the Duke de Richelieu's orders " are peremptory, and admit of no delay." He accordingly ordered the cannon to advance; the wall was scaled, and the gates would have been forced open, had not the magistrates, at the earnest importunity of the people, refolved to comply with his demand. A fecond deputation was immediately dispatched to the Duke de Broglio, fignifying their compliance; and the gates being opened, he marched into the city at midnight, after having promifed upon his honour, that no attempt should be made to the prejudice of its rights and prerogatives, and no outrage offered to the privileges of the regency, to the liberty, religion, and commerce of the inhabitants. This conquest, however, was of short duration. Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick being joined by a body of Prussian horse, under the command of Prince George of Holstein Gottorp, the whole army was put in motion, and advanced to the country of Bremen about the middle of February. The enemy were dislodged from Rothenburg, Ottersburg, and Verden, and they abandoned the city of Bremen at the approach of the Hanoverian general, who took polfession of it without opposition.

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& XXIV. By this time the court of Verfailles, being CHAP. diffatisfied with the conduct of the Duke de Richelieu, had recalled that general from Germany, where his place was supplied by the Count de Clermont, to the general fatisfaction of the army, as well as to the joy of the Hanoverian subjects, among whom Richelieu had committed many flagrant and inhuman acts of rapine and oppression. The new commander found his master's forces reduced to a deplorable condition, by the accidents of war, and diftemper arising from hard duty, severe weather, and the want of necessaries. As he could not pretend, with fuch a wretched remnant, to oppose the designs of Prince Ferdinand in the field, or even maintain the footing which his predecessor had gained, he found himself under the neceffity of retiring with all possible expedition towards the Rhine. As the allies advanced, his troops retreated from their distant quarters with such precipitation, as to leave behind all their fick, together with a great part of their baggage and artillery, besides a great number of officers and foldiers, that fell into the hands of those parties by whom they were purfued. The inhabitants of Hanover, perceiving the French intended to abandon that city, were overwhelmed with the fear of being subject to every species of violence and abuse: but their apprehensions were happily disappointed by the honour and integrity of the Duke de Randan, the French governor, who not only took effectual measures for restraining the soldiers within the bounds of the most rigid discipline and moderation, but likewise exhibited a noble proof of generosity, almost without example. Instead of destroying his magazine of provisions, according to the usual practice of war, he ordered the whole to be either fold at a low price, or distributed among the poor of the city, who had been long exposed to the horrours of famine: an act of godlike humanity, which ought to dignify the character of that worthy nobleman above all the titles that military fame can deferve, or arbitrary monarchs bestow. The regency of Hanover were so deeply impressed with a sense of his heroick behaviour

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BOOK haviour on this occasion, that they gratefully acknowledged it, in a letter of thanks to him and the Count de Clermont; and on the day of folemn thankfgiving to heaven. for their being delivered from their enemies, the clergy in their fermons did not fail to celebrate and extol the charity and benevolence of the Duke de Randan. Such glorious testimonies, even from enemies, must have afforded the most exquisite pleasure to a mind endued with sensibility; and this, no doubt, may be termed one of the fairest triumphs of humanity.

6 XXV. The two grand divisions of the French army, quartered at Zell and Hanover, retired in good order to Hamelen, where they collected all their troops, except those that were left in Hoya, and about four thousand men placed in garrison at Minden, to retard the operations of the combined army. Towards the latter end of February, Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, having received intelligence that the Count de Chabot was posted with a confiderable body of troops at Hoya, upon the Wefer, detached the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, with four battalions, and fome light troops and dragoons, to dislodge them from that neighbourhood. This enterprise was executed with the utmost intrepidity. The Hereditary Prince passed the Weser at Bremen with part of his detachment, while the rest advanced on this side of the river; and the enemy, being attacked in front and rear, were in a little time forced, and thrown into confusion. The bridge being abandoned, and near feven hundred men taken prifoners, the Count de Chabot threw himfelf, with two battalions, into the caftle, where he refolved to support himfelf, in hope of being relieved. The regiment of Bretagne, and some detachments of dragoons, were actually on the march to his affistance. The Hereditary Prince being made acquainted with this circumstance, being also destitute of heavy artillery to befiege the place in form, and taking it for granted he should not be able to maintain the post after it might be taken, he listened to the terms of capitulation proposed by the French general, whose garrifon was fi but their c ed to the ditary Pri quent occ no fooner Minden, on the fo After the vanced to established the approx and woun halting to calling in Caffel, ar were nov their retre horse, dif who took baggage-v precipitat and time torage; an a small fo were mad plete train de Clerm distribute and the a toned the however, end of M Duyfburg who exec talions of

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on was fuffered to march out with the honours of war; CHAP. but their cannon, ftores, and ammunition were furrendered to the victor. This was the first exploit of the Hereditary Prince, whose valour and activity, on many subsequent occasions, shone with distinguished lustre. He had no fooner reduced Hoya, than he marched to the attack of Minden, which he invested on the fifth day of March, and on the fourteenth the garrison surrendered at discretion. After the reduction of this city, the combined army advanced towards Hamelen, where the French general had established his head quarters: but he abandoned them at the approach of the allies, and leaving behind all his fick and wounded, with part of his magazines, retired without halting to Paderborn, and from thence to the Rhine, recalling in his march the troops that were in Embden, Cassel, and the landgraviate of Hesse, all which places were now evacuated. They were terribly harraffed in their retreat by the Prussian hussars, and a body of light horse, distinguished by the name of Hanoverian hunters, who took a great number of prisoners, together with many baggage-waggons, and fome artillery. Such was the precipitation of the enemy's retreat, that they could not find time to destroy all their magazines of provision and forage; and even forgot to call in the garrison of Vechte, a small fortress in the neighbourhood of Diepholt, who were made prisoners of war, and here was found a complete train of battering cannon and mortars. The Count de Clermont, having reached the banks of the Rhine, distributed his forces into quarters of cantonment in Wesel and the adjoining country, while Prince Ferdinand cantoned the allied army in the bishoprick of Munster: here, however, he did not long remain inactive. In the latter end of May he ordered a detachment to pass the Rhine at Duythurg, under the command of Colonel Scheither, who executed his order without loss, defeated three battalions of the enemy, and took five pieces of cannon. the beginning of June the whole army passed the Rhine, on a bridge constructed for the occasion, defeated a body

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B O O K III. 1758. of French cavalry, and obtained divers other advantages in their march towards Wefel. Kaifersworth was surprised, the greater part of the garrison either killed or taken; and Prince Ferdinand began to make preparations for the siege of Dusseldorp. In the mean time, the Count de Clermont, being unable to stop the rapidity of his progress, was obliged to secure his troops with strong entrenchments, until he should be properly re-enforced.

6 XXVI. The court of Verfailles, though equally mortified and confounded at the turn of their affairs in Germany, did not fit tamely and behold this reverse; but exerted their usual spirit and expedition in retrieving the losses they had sustained. They assembled a body of troops at Hanau, under the direction of the Prince de Soubife, who, it was faid, had received orders to penetrate, by the way of Donawert, Ingoldstadt, and Arnberg, into Bohemia. In the mean time, re-enforcements daily arrived in the camp of the Count de Clermont; and as repeated complaints had been made of the want of discipline and subordination in that army, measures were taken for reforming the troops by feverity and example. The Mareschal Duke de Belleisle, who now acted as secretary at war with uncommon ability, wrote a letter, directed to all the colonels of infantry, threatening them, in the King's name, with the loss of their regiments, should they connive any longer at the scandalous practice of buying commissions: an abuse which had crept into the service under various pretexts, to the discouragement of merit, the relaxation of discipline, and the total extinction of laudable emulation. The Prince of Clermont having quitted his strong camp at Rhinefeldt, retired to Nuys, a little higher up the river, and detached a confiderable corps, under the command of the Count de St. Germain, to take post at Crevelt, situated in a plain between his army and the camp of the allies, which fronted the town of Meurs: after feveral motions on both fides, Prince Ferdinand refolved to attack the enemy, and forthwith made a disposition for this purpose. He affigned the command of the whole left wing, confifting

filting of e to Lieuten wing, cor drons, was General V of two reg mediate di ditary Prin confisting tween the Sporcken. Scheither' enemy's ri lage of I Wolfenbu the rear o attack the was rende that emba intersecte day of Jus move; th Anthony, of Crevelt enemy fro and havin proceeded left flank order to d with respe rected th against th in particu being emp might be the left, v

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fling of eighteen battalions and twenty-eight fquadrons, to Lieutenant-General Sporcken: the conduct of the right wing, composed of fixteen battalions and fourteen squadrons, was entrusted to the Hereditary Prince and Major-General Wangenheim; the squadrons, with the addition of two regiments of Prussian dragoons, were under the immediate direction of the Prince of Holstein, while the Hereditary Prince commanded the infantry. The light troops, confifting of five squadrons of huffars, were divided between the Prince of Holstein and Lieutenant General Major Luckner's fquadron, together with Sporcken. Scheither's corps, were ordered to observe the flank of the enemy's right, and with this view were posted in the village of Papendeick; and a battalion of the troops of Wolfenbuttel were left in the town of Hulste, to cover the rear of the army. Prince Ferdinand's design was to attack the enemy on their left flank; but the execution was rendered extremely difficult by the woods and ditches that embarraffed the route, and the numerous ditches that intersected this part of the country. On the twenty-third day of June, at four in the morning, the army began to move; the right advancing in two columns as far as St. Anthony, and the left marching up within half a league of Crevelt. The Prince having viewed the position of the enemy from the steeple of St. Anthony, procured guides, and having received all the necessary hints of information, proceeded to the right, in order to charge the enemy's left flank by the villages of Worst and Anrath; but, in order to divide their attention, and keep them in suspense with respect to the nature of his principal attack, he directed the Generals Sporcken and Oberg to advance against them by the way of Crevelt and St. Anthony, and, in particular, to make the most of their artillery, that, being employed in three different places at once, they might be prevented from fending any re-enforcement to the left, where the chief attack was intended. These precautions being taken, Prince Ferdinand, putting himfelf at the head of the grenadiers of the right wing, continued

C H A P. IX. BOOK III.

his march in two columns to the village of Anrath, where he fell in with an advanced party of the French, which, after a few discharges of musquetry, retired to their camp and gave the alarm. In the mean time, both armies were drawn up in order of battle; the troops of the allies in the plain between the villages of Anrath and Willich, oppofite to the French forces, whose left was covered with a wood. The action began about one in the afternoon, with a severe cannonading on the part of Prince Ferdinand, which, though well supported, proved ineffectual in drawing the enemy from their cover: he, therefore, determined to dislodge them from the wood by dint of small arms. The Hereditary Prince immediately advanced with the whole front, and a very obstinate action enfued. Mean while, the cavalry on the right in vain attempted to penetrate the wood on the other fide, where the enemy had raifed two batteries, which were fustained by forty squadrons of horfe. After a terrible fire had been maintained on both fides, till five in the afternoon, the grenadiers forced the entrenchments in the wood, which were lined by the French infantry. Thefe giving way abandoned the wood in the utmost disorder; but the pursuit was cheeked by the conduct and resolution of the enemy's cavalry, which, notwithstanding a dreadful fire from the artillery of the allies, maintained their ground, and covered the foot in their retreat to Nuys. The fuccess of the day was, in a good measure, owing to the artillery on the left and in the centre, with which the Generals Sporcken and Oberg had done great execution, and employed the attention of the enemy on that fide, while Prince Ferdinand profecuted his attack on the other quarter. It must be owned, however, that their right wing and centre retired in great order to Nuys, though the left was defeated, with the loss of some standards, colours, and pieces of cannon, and fix thousand men killed, wounded, or taken prisoners\*. This victory, however, which cost the

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<sup>\*</sup> Among the French officers who loft their lives in this engagement was the Count de Gifors, only fon of the Mareschal Duke de Belleisle, and last hope

the allies about fifteen hundred men, was not at all deci- CHAP. five in its consequences; and, indeed, the plan seemed only calculated to display the enterprising genius of the Hanoverian general. True it is, the French army took refuge under the cannon of Cologn, where they remained, without hazarding any step for the relief of Dusseldorp, which Prince Ferdinand immediately invested, and in a few days reduced, the garrison being allowed to march out with the honours of war, on condition that they hould not, for the space of one year, carry arms against the allies.

IX. 1758.

6 XXVII. It was at this period that Count de Clermont religned his command, which was conferred upon M. de Contades, and the French army was confiderably re-enforced. He even threatened to attack Prince Ferdinand in his turn, and made fome motions with that defign, but was prevented by the little river Erff, behind which the prince resolved to lie quiet, until he should be joined by the body of British troops under the command of the Duke of Marlborough, the first division of which had just landed at Embden. He flattered himself that the Prince of Ysenbourg, at the head of the Hessian troops, would find employment for the Prince de Soubise, who had marched from Hanau, with a defign to penetrate into the landgraviate of Heffe-Caffel: his vanguard had been already furprised and defeated by the militia of the country; and the Prince of Ysenbourg was at the head of a considerable body of regular forces, affembled to oppose his further progress. Prince Ferdinand, therefore, hoped that the operations of the French general would be effectually impeded, until he himfelf, being joined by the British troops, should be in a condition to pass the Meuse, transfer the feat of war into the enemy's country, thus make a diversion from the Rhine, and perhaps oblige the Prince de Soubife to come to the affiftance of the principal French

of that illustrious family, a young nobleman of extraordinary accomplishments, who finished a short life of honour in the embrace of military glory, and fell gallantly fighting at the head of his own regiment, to the inexpressible grief of his aged father, and the universal regret of his country.

B O O K . III. 1758. army, commanded by M.deContades. He had formed a plan which would have answered these purposes effectually, and, in execution of it, marched to Ruremond on the Maefe, when his measures were totally disconcerted by a variety of incidents which he could not foresee. The Prince of Ysenbourg was, on the twenty-third day of July, defeated at Sangarshausen by the Duke de Broglio, whom the Prince de Soubise had detached against him with a number of troops greatly fuperior to that which the Hessian general commanded. The Duke de Broglio, who command. ed the corps that formed the vanguard of Soubife's army, having learned at Cassel, that the Hessian troops, under the Prince of Ysenbourg, were retiring towards Munden, he advanced, on the twenty-third of July, with a body of eight thousand men, to the village of Sangarshausen, where he found them drawn up in order of battle, and forthwith made a disposition for the attack. At first his cavalry were repulfed by the Hessian horse, which charged the French infantry, and were broke in their turn. The Hessians, though greatly inferior in number to the enemy, made a very obstinate resistance, by favour of a rock in the Fulde that covered their right, and a wood by which their left was secured. The dispute was so obstinate, that the enemy's left was obliged to give ground, but the Duke de Broglio ordering a fresh corps to advance, changed the fortune of the day. The Hessians, overpowered by numbers, gave way; part plunged into the river, where many perished, and part threw themselves into the wood, through which they escaped from the pursuit of the hulfars, who took above two hundred foldiers and fifty offcers, including the Count de Canitz, who was fecond in command. They likewise found on the field of battle feven pieces of cannon, and eight at Munden: but the carnage was pretty confiderable, and nearly equal on both fides. The number of the killed and wounded, on the side of the French, exceeded two thousand; the loss of the Hessians was not so great. The Prince of Ysenbourg having collected the remains of his little army, took poll

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manded that he at Eimbeck, where he foon was re-enforced, and found CHAP. himself at the head of twelve thousand men: but, in consequence of this advantage, the enemy became masters of the Weser, and opened to themselves a free passage into Westphalia.

1758.

& XXVIII. The progress of Prince Ferdinand upon the Maese had been retarded by a long succession of heavy rains, which broke up the roads, and rendered the country impassable; and now the certain information of this unlucky check left him no alternative but a battle or a retreat across the Rhine: the first was carefully avoided by the enemy; the latter resolution, therefore, he found himself under a necessity to embrace. In his present pofition he was hampered by the French army on one wing, on the other by the fortress of Gueldres, the garrison of which had been lately re-enforced, as well as by divers other posts, capable of obstructing the convoys and subfiftence of the combined army: besides, he had reason to apprehend that the Prince de Soubise would endeavour to intercept the British troops in their march from Embden. Induced by these considerations, he determined to repass the Rhine, after having offered battle to the enemy, and made feveral motions for that purpose. Finding them averse to an engagement, he made his dispositions for forcing the strong pass of Wachtendonck, an island surrounded by the Niers, of very difficult approach, and stuated exactly in his route to the Rhine. This service was performed by the Hereditary Prince of Brunswick, who, perceiving the enemy had drawn up the bridge, rushed into the river at the head of his grenadiers, who drove them away with their bayonets, and cleared the bridges for the paffage of the army towards Rhinebergen. At this place Prince Ferdinand received intelligence that M. de Chevert, reputed one of the best officers in the French service, had passed the Lippe with fourteen battalions and several squadrons, to join the garrison of Welel, and fall upon Lieutenant-General Imhoff, who commanded a detached corps of the combined army at Meer, that he might be at hand to guard the bridge which the prince

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BO O K HI. 1758. prince had thrown over the Rhine at Rees. His Serene Highness was extremely desirous of sending succours to General Imhoff; but the troops were too much fatigued to begin another march before morning; and the Rhine had overflowed its banks in fuch a manner as to render the bridge at Rees impaffable, fo that M. Imhoff was left to the refources of his own conduct and the bravery of his troops, confifting of fix battalions and four fquadrons, already weakened by the absence of different detachments. This general having received advice, on the fourth of August, that the enemy intended to pass the Lippe the same evening with a confiderable train of artillery, in order to burn the bridge at Rees, decamped with a view to cover this place, and join two battalions which had passed the Rhine in boats, under the command of General Zastrow, who re-enforced him accordingly; but the enemy not appearing, he concluded the information was false, and refolved to resume his advantageous post at Meer. Of this he had no fooner repossessed himself, than his advanced guards were engaged with the enemy, who marched to the attack from Wefel, under the command of Lieutenant-General de Chevert, confisting of the whole corps intended for the fiege of Duffeldorp. Imhoff's front was covered by coppices and ditches, there being a rifing ground on his right, from whence he could plainly difcern the whole force that advanced against him, together with the manner of their approach. Perceiving them engaged in that difficult ground, he posted one regiment in a coppice, with orders to fall upon the left flank of the enemy, which appeared quite uncovered; and as foon as their fire began, advanced with the rest of his forces to attack them The bayonet was used on this occasion, and in front. the charge given with fuch impetuofity and resolution, that, after a short refistance, the enemy fell into confusion and fled towards Wefel, leaving on the spot eleven pieces of cannon, with a great number of waggons and other carriages: besides the killed and wounded, who amounted to a pretty confiderable number, the victor took three hundred and fifty-four prisoners, including eleven officers; whereas,

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whereas, on his part, the victory was purchased at a very CHAP.

1758.

6 XXIX. Immediately after this action, General Wangenheim paffed the Rhine with feveral fquadrons and battalions, to re-enforce General Imhoff, and enable him to profecute the advantage he had gained, while Prince Ferdinand marched with the rest of the army to Santen: from thence he proceeded to Rhineberg, where he intended to pass; but the river had overflowed to such a degree, that here, as well as at Rees, the shore was inaccessible; so that he found it necessary to march farther down the river, and lay a bridge at Gtiethuyzen. The enemy had contrived four veffels for the destruction of this bridge; but they were all taken before they could put the defign in execution, and the whole army passed on the tenth day of August, without any loss or further interruption. At the same time the prince withdrew his garrison from Dusfeldorp, of which the French immediately took poffelfion. Immediately after his passage he received a letter from the Duke of Marlborough, acquainting him that the British troops had arrived at Lingen, in their route to Coesfeldt: to which place General Imhosf was sent to receive them, with a strong detachment. Notwithstanding this junction, the two armies on the Rhine were fo equally matched, that no stroke of importance was struck on either side during the remaining part of the campaign. M. de Contades, feeing no prospect of obtaining the least advantage over Prince Ferdinand, detached Prince Xaverius of Saxony with a strong re-enforcement to the Prince de Soubise, who had taken possession of Gottengen, and seemed determined to attack the Prince of Ysenbourg at Eimbeck. That this officer might be able to give him a proper reception, Prince Ferdinand detached General Oberg with ten thousand men to Lipstadt, from whence, should occasion require, they might continue their march, and join the Hessians. The whole body, when thus re-enforced, did not exceed twenty thousand men, of whom General Oberg now affumed the command: whereas the troops of VOL. IV. Soubife

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BOOK III. Soubife were increased to the number of thirty thousand. The allies had taken post upon the river Fulde at Sandershausen, where they hoped the French would attack them; but the defign of Soubife was first to dislodge them from that advantageous fituation. With this view, he made a motion, as if he had intended to turn the camp of the allies by the road of Munden. In order to prevent the execution of this supposed design, General Oberg decamped on the tenth of October, and, paffing by the village of Landwernhagen, advanced towards Luttenberg, where, understanding the enemy were at his heels, he forthwith formed his troops in order of battle, his right to the Fulde, and his left extending to a thicket upon an eminence, where he planted five field-pieces. The cavalry fupported the wings in a third line, the village of Luttenberg was in the rear, and four pieces of cannon were mounted on a rifing ground that flanked this village. The French having likewise passed Landwernhagen, posted their left towards the Fulde, their right extending far beyond the left of the allies, and their front being strengthened with above thirty pieces of cannon. At four in the afternoon the enemy began the battle with a fevere cannonading, and at the fame time the first line of their infantry attacked Major-General Zastrow, who was posted on the left wing of the allies. This body of the French was repulsed; but in the same moment, a considerable line of cavalry advancing, charged the allies in front and flank. These were supported by a fresh body of infantry with cannon, which, after a warm dispute, obliged the confederates to give way; and General Oberg, in order to prevent a total defeat, made a disposition for a retreat, which was performed in tolerable order; not but that he fuffered greatly, in passing through a defile, from the fire of the enemy's cannon, which was brought up, and managed under the direction of the Duke de Broglio. Having marched through Munden, by midnight, the retiring army lay till morning under arms in the little plain near Grupen, on the other fide of the Weser; but at daybreak

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break profecuted their march, after having withdrawn the garrison from Munden, until they arrived in the neighbourhood of Guntersheim, where they encamped. In this engagement General Oberg lost about sisteen hundred men, his artillery, baggage, and ammunition. He was obliged to abandon a magazine of hay and straw at Munden, and leave part of his wounded men in that place to the humanity of the victor. But, after all, the French general reaped very little advantage from his victory.

CHAP. IX. 1758.

§ XXX. By this time Prince Ferdinand had retired into Westphalia, and fixed his head-quarters at Munster, while M. Contades encamped near Ham upon the Lippe: fo that, although he had obliged the French army to evacuate Hanover and Hesse in the beginning of the year, when they were weakened by death and diffemper, and even driven them beyond the Rhine, where they fustained a defeat; yet they were foon put in a condition to baffle all his future endeavours, and penetrate again into Westphalia, where they established their winter-quarters, extending themselves in such a manner as to command the whole course of the Rhine on both sides, while the allies were disposed in the landgraviate of Hesse-Cassel, and in the bishoprick of Munster, Paderborn, and Hildesheim. The British troops had joined them so late in the season, that they had no opportunity to fignalize themselves in the field; yet the fatigues of the campaign, which they had feverely felt, proved fatal to their commander, the Duke of Marlborough, who died of a dysentery at Munfter, univerfally lamented.

§ XXXI. Having thus particularised the operations of the allied army since the commencement of the campaign, we shall now endeavour to trace the steps of the King of Prussia, from the period at which his army was assembled for action. Having collected his force as soon as the season would permit, he undertook the siege of Schweidnitz in form on the twenty-first day of March; and carried on his operations with such vigour, that in thirteen days the garrison surrendered themselves prisoners of war, after

BOOK III. 1758. having loft one half of their number in the defence of the place. While one part of his troops were engaged in this fervice, he himself, at the head of another, advanced to the eastern frontier of Bohemia, and sent a detachment as far as Trautenaw, garrifoned by a body of Austrians, who, after an obstinate resistance, abandoned the place, and retreated towards their grand army. By this fuccess he opened to himself a way into Bohemia, by which he poured in detachments of light troops, to raife contributions, and harrafs the out-posts of the enemy. At the same time the Baron de la Mothe Fouquet marched with another body against the Austrian General Jahnus, posted in the county of Glatz, whom he obliged to abandon all the posts he occupied in that country, and pursued as far as Nachod, within twenty miles of Koningsgratz, where the grand Austrian army was encamped, under the command of Mareschal Daun, who had lately arrived from Vienna\*. Over and above these excursions, the King ordered a body of thirty thousand men to be affembled, to act under the command of his brother Prince Henry, an accomplished warrior, against the army of the Empire, which the Prince de Deuxponts, with great difficulty, made a shift to form again near Bamberg, in Franconia.

§ XXXII. The King of Prussia, whose designs were perhaps even greater than he cared to own, resolved to shift the theatre of the war, and penetrate into Moravia, a fertile country, which had hitherto been kept sacred from ravage and contribution. Having formed an army of sifty thousand choice troops, near Niess, in Silesia, he divided them into three columns; the first commanded by Mareschal Keith, the second by himself in person, and the third conducted by Prince Maurice of Anhault Dessau. In the latter

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<sup>\*</sup> At this juncture the Prussian commandant of Dresden being admitted into the Japan palace, to see the curious porcelaine with which it is adorned, perceived a door built up; and ordering the passage to be opened, entered a large apartment, where he found three thousand tents, and other field utensils. These had been concealed here when the Prussians first took possession of the city: they were immediately seised by the commandant, and distributed among the troops of Prince Henry's army.

latter end of April they began their march towards Mo- CHAP. ravia; and General De la Ville, who commanded a body of troops in that country, retired as they advanced, after having thrown a strong re-enforcement into Olmutz, which the King was determined to befiege. Had he paffed by this fortress, which was strongly fertified, and well provided for a vigorous defence, he might have advanced to the gates of Vienna, and reduced the Emperor to the necessity of fuing for peace on his own terms; but it feems he was unwilling to deviate fo far from the common maxims of war as to leave a fortified place in the rear; and, therefore, he determined to make himself master of it before he should proceed. For this purpose it was immediately invested: orders were issued to hasten up the heavy artillery, and Mareschal Keith was appointed to superintend and direct the operations of the fiege. Meanwhile, the Austrian commander, Count Daun, being informed of his Prussian Majesty's motions and designs, quitted his camp at Leutomyssel in Bohemia, and entered Moravia by the way of Billa. Being still too weak to encounter the Prussians in the field, he extended his troops in the neighbourhood of the King's army, between Gewitz and Littau, in a mountainous fituation, where he ran little or no risk of being attacked. Here he remained for some time in quiet, with the fertile country of Bohemia in his rear, from whence he drew plentiful fupplies, and received daily re-enforcements. His scheme was to relieve the befieged occasionally, to harrafs the befiegers, and to intercept their convoys from Silefia; and this scheme succeeded to his wish. Olmutz is so extensive in its works, and fo peculiarly fituated on the river Morava, that it could not be completely invested without weakening the posts of the besieging army, by extending them to a prodigious circuit; fo that, in some parts, they were easily forced by detachments in the nights, who fell upon them fuddenly, and feldom failed to introduce into the place supplies of men, provisions, and ammunition. The forage in the neighbourhood of the city having been previously destroyed,

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BOOK destroyed, the Prussian horse were obliged to make excursions at a great distance, consequently exposed to fatigue, and liable to furprife; and, in a word, the Pruffians were not very expert in the art of town taking.

§ XXXIII. Count Daun knew how to take advantage of these circumstances, without hazarding a battle, to which the King provoked him in vain. While the garrifon made repeated fallies to retard the operations of the besiegers, the Austrian general harrassed their foraging parties, fell upon different quarters of their army in the night, and kept them in continual alarm. Nevertheless, the King finished his first parallel; and proceeded with fuch vigour as feemed to promife a fpeedy reduction of the place, when his defign was entirely frustrated by an untoward incident. Mareschal Daun, having received intelligence that a large convoy had fet out from Silefia for the Prussian camp, resolved to seise this opportunity of compelling the King to defift from his enterprife. He fent General Jahnus, with a strong body of troops, towards Bahrn, and another detachment to Stadtoliebe, with in-Aructions to attack the convoy on different fides; while he himself advanced towards the besiegers, as if he intended to give them battle. The King of Prussia, far from being deceived by this feint, began, from the motions of the Austrian general, to suspect his real scheme, and immediately dispatched General Ziethen, with a strong re-enforcement, to protect the convoy, which was escorted by eight battalions, and about four thousand men, who had been fick, and were just recovered. Before this officer joined them, the convoy had been attacked on the twentyeighth day of June; but the affailants were repulfed with confiderable lofs. Mareschal Daun, however, took care that they should be immediately re-enforced; and next day the attack was renewed with much greater effect. Four hundred waggons, guarded by four battalions, and about one thousand troopers, had just passed the defiles of Domstadt, when the Austrians charged them furiously on every fide: the communication between the head and the reft

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rest of the convoy was cut off; and General Ziethen, after having exerted all his efforts for its preservation, being obliged to abandon the waggons, retired to Troppau. Thus the whole convoy fell into the hands of the enemy, who took above fix hundred prisoners, together with General Putkammer; and the King of Prussia was obliged to relinquish his enterprise. This was a mortifying necessity to a prince of his high spirit, at a time when he saw himself on the eve of reducing the place, notwithstanding the gallant defence which had been made by General Marshal, the governor. Nothing now remained but to raise the fiege, and retire without loss in the face of a vigilant enemy, prepared to feife every opportunity of advantage: a task which, how hard soever it may appear, he performed with equal dexterity and fuccess. Instead of retiring into Silesia, he resolved to avert the war from his own dominions, and take the route of Bohemia, the frontiers of which were left uncovered by Mareschal Daun's last motion, when he advanced his quarters to Posnitz, in order to fuccour Olmutz the more effectually. After the King had taken his measures, he carefully concealed his defign from the enemy, and, notwithstanding the loss of his convoy, profecuted the operations of the fiege with redoubled vigour, till the first day of July, when he decamped in the night, and began his march to Bohemia. He himself, with one division, took the road to Konitz; and Mareschal Keith having brought away all the artillery, except four mortars, and one disabled cannon, pursued his march by the way of Littau to Muglitz and Tribau. Although his Prussian Majesty had gained an entire march upon the Austrians, their light troops, commanded by the Generals Buccow and Laudohn, did not fail to attend and harrass his army in their retreat; but their endeavours were in a great measure frustrated by the conduct and circumspection of the Prussian commanders. After the rear of the army had passed the defiles of Krenau, General Lasci, who was posted at Gibau with a large body of Austrian troops, occupied the village of Krenau with a detachment

CHAP. IX. 1758. 1758.

BOOK detachment of grenadiers, who were foon dislodged; and the Prussians pursued their march by Zwittau to Leutomyssel, where they seised a magazine of meal and forage. In the mean time, General de Ratzow, who conducted the provisions and artillery, found the hills of Hollitz possessed by the enemy, who cannonaded him as he advanced; but Mareschal Keith coming up, ordered them to be attacked in the rear, and they fled into a wood with precipitation, with the lofs of fix officers and three hundred men, who were taken prisoners. While the Marefchal was thus employed, the King proceeded from Leutomysfel to Koninfgratz, where General Buccow, who had got the flart of him, was posted with seven thousand men behind the Elbe, and in the entrenchments which they had thrown up all round the city. The Prussian troops as they arrived passed over the little river Adler, and as the enemy had broken down the bridges over the Elbe, the King ordered them to be repaired with all expedition, being determined to attack the Austrian entrenchments: but General Buccow did not wait for his approach. He abandoned his entrenchments, and retired with his troops to Clumetz; fo that the King took possesfion of the most important post of Koningsgratz without further opposition. An Austrian corps having taken post between him and Hollitz, in order to obstruct the march of the artillery, he advanced against them in person, and having driven them from the place, all his cannon, military stores, provision, with fifteen hundred sick and wounded men, arrived in fafety at Koningsgratz, where the whole army encamped. His intention was to transfer the feat of war from Moravia to Bohemia, where he should be able to maintain a more easy communication with his own dominions: but a more powerful motive foon obliged him to change his refolution.

§ XXXIV. After the Russian troops under Apraxin had retreated from Pomerania in the course of the preceding year, and the Czarina feemed ready to change her fystem, the courts of Vienna and Versailles had, by dint of subsidies, pro all appea and even destined only fign with the Sweden mon cau who was forces in General their tro accordin and on of Kon fition; in order rania. this par districts Viftula, zick. that the demand ordered method fome n compro his tro rania, affembl But aft ed thei left, ad the otl taken Posna.

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dies, promifes, prefents, and intrigues, attached her, in all appearance, more firmly than ever to the confederacy, and even induced her to augment the number of troops destined to act against the Prussian monarch. She not only figned her accession in form to the quadruple alliance with the Empress-Queen and the Kings of France and Sweden; but, in order to manifest her zeal to the common cause, she disgraced her chancellor, Count Bestuches, who was supposed averse to the war: she divided her forces into feparate bodies, under the command of the Generals Fermer and Browne, and ordered them to put their troops in motion in the middle of winter. accordingly began his march in the beginning of January, and on the twenty-fecond his light troops took poffession of Koningsberg, the capital of Prussia, without oppofition; for the King's forces had quitted that country, in order to profecute the war in the western parts of Pome-They did not, however, maintain themselves in this part of the country; but, after having ravaged some diffricts, returned to the main body, which halted on the Vistula, to the no small disturbance of the city of Dantzick. The refident of the Czarina actually demanded that the magistrates should receive a Russian garrison: a demand which they not only peremptorily refused, but ordered all the citizens to arms, and took every other method to provide for their defence. At length, after some negociation with General Fermer, the affair was compromised: he defisted from the demand, and part of his troops passed the Vistula, seemingly to invade Pomerania, in the eaftern part of which Count Dohna had affembled an army of Prussians to oppose their progress. But after they had pillaged the open country, they rejoined their main body; and General Fermer, turning to the left, advanced toward Silefia, in order to co-operate with the other Russian army commanded by Browne, who had taken his route through Poland, and already passed the Poina. By the first of July, both bodies had reached the prontiers of Silefia, and some of their coffacks, penetrating

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B O O K III. 1758. into that province, had committed dreadful ravages, and overwhelmed the inhabitants with consternation. Count Dohna, with the Prussian army under his command, had attended their motions, and even paffed the Oder at Frankfort, as if he had intended to give them battle: but he was too much inferior in number to hazard fuch a step, which became an object of his fovereign's own personal attention. Mareschal Daun had followed the King into Bohemia, and, on the twenty-second day of July, encamped on the hills of Libischau, a situation almost inaccessible, where he resolved to remain, and watch the motions of the Prussian monarch, until some opportunity should offer of acting to advantage. Nature seems to have expressly formed this commander with talents to penetrate the defigns, embarrafs the genius, and check the impetuofity of the Prussian monarch. He was justly compared to Fabius Maximus, diffinguished by the epithet of Cunctator. He possessed all the vigilance, caution, and fagacity of that celebrated Roman. Like him, he hovered on the skirts of the enemy, harraffing their parties, accustoming the soldiers to strict discipline, hard service, and the face of a formidable soe, and watching for opportunities, which he knew how to feife with equal courage and celerity.

§ XXXV. The King of Prussia, being induced by a concurrence of motives to stop the progress of the Rushans in Silesia, made his dispositions for retreating from Bohemia, and on the twenty-fifth day of July quitted the camp at Koningsgratz. He was attended in his march by three thousand Austrian light troops, who did not fail to incommode his rear: but not with standing these impediments, he passed the Mittau, proceeded on his route, and on the ninth day of August arrived at Landshut. From thence he hastened with a detachment towards Frankfort on the Oder, and joined the army commanded by Lieutenant-General Dohna at Gorgas. Then the whole army passed the Oder by a bridge thrown over it at Gatavise, and having rested one day, advanced to Dertmitzel, where he encamped. The Russians, under General Fermer, were posted

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posted on the other side of the little river Mitzel, their right extending to the village of Zwicker, and their left to Quertchem. The King being determined to hazard a battle, passed the Mitzel on the twenty-fifth in the morning, and turning the flank of the enemy, drew up his army in order of battle in the plain between the little river and the town of Zorndorf. The Russians, by whom he was out-numbered, did not decline the difpute; but as the ground did not permit them to extend themselves, they appeared in four lines, forming a front on every fide, defended by cannon and a chevaux-de-frise, their right flank covered by the village of Zwicker. After a warm cannonade, the Prussian infantry were ordered to attack the village, and a body of grenadiers advanced to the affault; but this brigade unexpectedly giving way, occasioned a considerable opening in the line, and left the whole left flank of the infantry uncovered. Before the enemy could take advantage of this incident, the interval was filled up by the cavalry under the command of General Seydlitz; and the King, with his usual presence of mind, substituted another choice body of troops to carry on the attack. This began about noon, and continued for some time, during which both fides fought with equal courage and perseverance: at length General Seydlitz, having routed the Ruffian cavalry, fell upon the flank of the infantry with great fury, which being also dreadfully annoyed by the Prussian artillery, they abandoned the village, together with their military cheft, and great part of their baggage. Notwithflanding this lofs, which had greatly difordered their right wing, they continued to stand their ground, and terrible havock was made among them, not only with the fword and bayonet, but also by the cannon, which were loaded with grape-shot, and being excellently served, did great execution. Towards evening the confusion among them increased to such a degree, that in all probability they would have been entirely routed, had they not been favoured by the approaching darknefs, as well as by a particular operation, which was very gallantly performed. One of BOOK III.

the Russian generals perceiving the fortune of the day turned against them, rallied a felect body of troops, and made a vigorous impression on the right wing of the Prusfians. This effort diverted their attention fo strongly to that quarter, that the right of the Russians enjoyed a respite, during which they retired in tolerable order, and occupied a new post on the right, where the rest of their forces were the more eafily affembled. In this battle they are faid to have loft above fifteen thousand men, thirty-feven colours, five standards, twelve mortars, the greater part of their baggage, and above one hundred pieces of cannon. Among the prisoners that fell into the hands of the victor, were feveral general officers, and a good number loft their lives on the field of battle. The victory coft the King above two thousand men, including some officers of diffinction, particularly two aids-du-camp, who attended his own person, which he exposed without scruple to all the perils of the day. It would have redounded still more to his glory, had he put a stop to the carnage; for after all refistance was at an end, the wretched Russians were hewn down without mercy. It must be owned, indeed, that the Prussian foldiers were in a peculiar manner exasperated against this enemy, because they had laid waste the country, burned the villages, ruined the peafants, and committed many horrid acts of barbarity, which the practice of war could not authorife\*. The Prussian army paffed

\* A detail of the cruelties committed by those barbarians cannot be read without horrour. They not only burned a great number of villages, but they ravished, risled, murthered, and mutilated the inhabitants, without distinction of age or sex, without any other provocation or incitement than brutal lust and wantonness of barbarity. They even violated the sepulchres of the dead, which have been held facred among the most savage nations. At Camin and Breckholtz they forced open the graves and sepulchral vaults, and stripped the bodies of the Generals Sclaberndorf and Ruitz, which had been deposited there. But the collected force of their vengeance was discharged against Custrin, the capital of the New Marche of Brandenburgh, situated at the conflux of the Warta and the Oder, about sisteen English miles from Frankfort. The particulars of the disaster that befell this city are pathetically related in the following extracts from a letter written by an inhabitant and eye-witness:

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"On the thirteenth of August, about three o'clock in the afternoon, a fidden report was fpread that a body of Ruffian huffars and coffacks appeared in fight of the little fuburb. All the people were immediately in motion, and the whole city was filled with terrour, especially as we were certainly informed that the whole Ruffian army was advancing from Meferick and Koigfwalda, by the way of Landsberg. A re-enforcement was immediately Ent to our piquet-guard in the fuburb, amounting, by this junction, to three hundred men, who were foon attacked by the enemy, and the skirmish lastdfrom four till seven o'clock in the evening. During this dispute, we could plainly perceive, from our ramparts and church-steeple, several persons of Minction, mounted on English horses, reconnoiting our fortification brough perspective glasses. They retired, however, when our cannon began wire: then our piquet took possession of their former post in the suburb; and the re-enforcement we had fent from the city returned, after having hoke down the bridge over the Oder. Next day Count Dohna, who commanddthe army near Frankfort, sent in a re-enforcement of four battalions, ten quadrons, and a small body of hussars, under the command of Lieutenant-General Scherlemmer. The huffars and a body of dragoons were added to the piquet of the little fuburb: the four battalions pitched their tents on the Anger, between the suburb and the fortification; and the rest of the argoons remained in the field, to cover the long fuburb. General Scherlemmer, attended by our governor, Colonel Schuck, went with a small party to oferve the enemy; but were obliged to retire, and were purfued by the offacks to the walls of the city. Between four and five o'clock next morning the poor inhabitants were roused from their sleep by the noise of the comon, intermingled with the difmal fhricks and hideous yellings of the ollacks belonging to the Ruffian army. Alarmed at this horrid noise, I altended the church steeple, from whence I beheld the whole plain, extendingfrom the little fuburb to the forest, covered with the enemy's troops, and our light horse, supported by the infantry, engaged in different places with their irregulars. At eight I descried a body of the enemy's infantry, whose ran confished of four or five thousand men, advancing towards the vineyard, in the neighbourhood of which they had raised occasional batteries in the preeding evening: from these they now played on our piquet-guard and hulars, who were obliged to retire. Then they fired, en ricochet, on the tents and baggage of the four battalions encamped on the Anger, who were also compelled to retreat. Having thus cleared the environs, they threw into the city Suchanumber of bombs and red-hot bullets, that by nine in the morning it was let on fire in three different places; and the streets being narrow, burned with such fury, that all our endeavours to extinguish it proved ineffectual. Atthistime the whole atmosphere appeared like a shower of fiery rain and hall; and the miserable inhabitants thought of nothing but saving their lives byrenning into the open fields. The whole place was filled with terrour and consternation,

BOOK III. twenty-feventh, they seemed determined to hazard another action, and even attack the conquerors; instead of advancing, however, they took the route of Landsberg;

consternation, and resounded with the shricks of women and children, who ran about in the utmost distraction, exposed to the shot and the bomb-shells which, burfting, tore in pieces every thing that flood in their way. As I led my wife, with a young child in her arms, and drove the rest of my children and fervants half naked before me, those instruments of death and devastation fell about us like hail; but, by the mercy of God, we all escaped unhurt, Nothing could be more melancholy and affecting than a fight of the wretched people, flying in crouds, and leaving their all behind, while they rent the fky with their lamentations. Many women of distinction I saw without shoes and stockings, and almost without clothes, who had been roused from their beds, and ran out naked into the streets. When my family had reached the open plain I endeavoured to return, and fave some of my effects; but I could not force my way through a multitude of people, thronging out at the gate, some fick and bed-ridden persons being carried on horseback and in carriages, and others conveyed on the backs of their friends, through a most dreadful scene of horrour and desolation. A great number of families from the open country, and defenceless towns in Prussia and Pomerania, had come hither for shelter with their most valuable effects, when the Russian first entered the king's territories. These, as well as the inhabitants, are all ruined; and many, who a few days ago poffeffed confiderable wealth, are now reduced to the utmost indigence. The neighbouring towns and villages were foon crouded with the people of Custrin: the roads were filled with objects of mifery: and nothing was feen but nakedness and despair nothing heard but the cries of hunger, fear, and distraction. For my own part, I stayed all night at Goltz, and then proceeded for Berlin. Custrinis now a heap of ruins. The great magazine, the governor's house, the church the palace, the store and artillery houses, in a word, the old and new towns the suburbs, and all the bridges, were reduced to ashes; nay, after the ashes were destroyed, the piles and sterlings were burned to the water's edge The writings of all the colleges, together with the archives of the comtry, were totally confumed, together with a prodigious magazine of corn and flour, valued at some millions of crowns. The cannon in the arfenal were all melted; and the loaded bombs and cartridges, with a large quantity of gunpowder, went off at once with a most horrible explosion A great number of the inhabitants are missing, supposed to have perished in the flames, or under the ruins of the houses, or to have been suffocated in fubterraneous vaults and caverns, to which they had fled for fafety"

Nothing could be more inhuman, or contrary to the practice of a generous enemy, than fuch vengeance wreaked upon the innocent inhabitants; for the Russians did not begin to batter the fortifications until all the rest of the place was destroyed. In the course of this campaign, the Russian cossacks are said to have plundered and burned source large towns and two hundred villages and wantonly butchered above two thousand desences women and children.

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but afterwards turned off towards Vietzel, and posted CHAP. themselves between the river Warta and that village. Immediately after the battle, General Fermer\*, who had icceived a flight wound in the action, fent a trumpet, with aletter to Lieutenant-General Dohna, defiring a fufpension of arms for two or three days to bury the dead, and take care of the wounded; and prefenting to his Pruffian Majesty the humble request of General Browne, who was much weakened by the lofs of blood, that he might have a paffport, by virtue of which he could be removed to a place where he should find such accommodation as his fituation required. In answer to this message. Count Dohna gave the Ruffian general to understand. that as his Prussian Majesty remained master of the field. he would give the necessary orders for interring the dead, and taking care of the wounded on both fides: he refused a suspension of arms, but granted the request of General Browne; and concluded his letter, by complaining of the outrages which the Ruffian troops still continued to commit, in pillaging and burning the King's villages.

XXXVI. The King of Prussia had no sooner repulled the enemy in one quarter than his presence was required in another. When he quitted Bohemia, Mareschal Daun, at the head of the Austrian army, and the Prince de Deuxponts, who commanded the forces of the empire, advanced to the Elbe, in order to furround the King's brother Prince Henry, who, without immediate fuccour, would not have been able to preferve his footing in Saxony. The Pruffian monarch, therefore, determined to support him with all possible expedition. In a few days after the battle, he began his march from Custrin with a re-enforcement of twenty-four battalions and great part of his cavalry, and purfued his route with fuch unwearied diligence, that by the fifth day of September he reached Torgau, and

such monsters of barbarity ought to be excluded from all the privileges of human nature, and hunted down as wild beafts, without pity or ceffation. What infamy ought those powers to incur, who employ and encourage such ruthless barbarians!

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<sup>\*</sup> General Fermer was of Scottish extract, and General Browne actually 2 native of North-Britain,

BOOK III. 1758. on the eleventh joined his brother. Mareschal Daun had posted himself at Stolpen, to the eastward of the Elbe, in order to preferve an eafy communication with the army of the empire encamped in the neighbourhood of Koningstein, to favour the operations of General Laudohn, who had advanced through the Lower Lufatia to the frontiers of Brandenburgh; to make a diversion from the southern parts of Silesia, where a body of Austrian troops acted under the command of the Generals Haarache and De Ville: and to interrupt the communication between Prince Henry and the capital of Saxony. On the fifth day of September, the garrison in the strong fortress of Koningstein furrendered themselves prisoners of war, after a very feeble refistance, to the Prince de Deuxponts, who forthwith took possession of the strong camp at Pirna. When the King of Prussia, therefore, arrived at Dresden, he found the army of the empire in this position, and Mareschal Daun in a still stronger situation at Stolpen, with bridges of communication thrown over the Elbe, fo that he could not attack them with any prospect of advantage. He had no other resolution to take but that of endeavouring to cut them off from supplies of provision, and with this view he marched to Bautzen, which he occupied. This motion obliged the Austrian general to quit his camp at Stolpen, but he chose another of equal strength at Libau, yet he afterwards advanced to Rittlitz, that he might be at hand to feife the first favourable occasion of executing the refolution he had formed to attack the Pruffians. The King having detached General Ratzow on his left, to take poffession of Weissenberg, marched forwards with the body of his army, and posted himself in the neighbourhood of Hochkirchen, after having dislodged the Austrians from that village. Matters were now brought to fuch a delicate crisis, that a battle seemed inevitable, and equally desired by both parties, as an event that would determine whether the Austrians should be obliged to retreat for winterquarters into Bohemia, or be enabled to maintain their ground in Saxony. In this fituation Marefchal Daun resolved

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CHAP.] IX.

relolved to act offensively, and formed a scheme for attacking the right flank of the Pruffians by surprife. This measure was suggested to him by an oversight of the Pruffians, who had neglected to occupy the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen, which was only guarded by a few free companies. He determined to take the advantage of a very dark night, and to employ the flower of his whole army on this important fervice, well knowing, that should they penetrate through the flank of the enemy, the whole Prussian army would be disconcerted, and in all probability entirely ruined. taken his measures with wonderful secresy and circumfeection, the troops began to move in the night between the thirteenth and fourteenth of October, favoured by a thick fog, which greatly increased the darkness of the Their first care was to take possession of the hill that commanded Hochkirchen, from whence they poured down upon the village, of which they took possession, after having cut in piecesthe free companies posted there. The action began in this quarter about four in the morning, and continued several hours with great fury, for, notwithstanding the impetuous efforts of the Austrian troops, and the confusion occasioned among the Prussians by the surprise, a vigorous stand was made by some general officers, who, with admirable expedition and presence of mind, affembled and arranged the troops as they could take to their arms, and led them up to the attack without diffinction of regiment, place, or precedence. While the action was obstinately and desperately maintained in this place, amidst all the horrours of darkness, carnage, and confusion, the King being alarmed, exerted all his perfonal activity, address, and recollection, in drawing regularity from diforder, arranging the different corps, altering positions, re-enforcing weak posts, encouraging the foldiery, and opposing the efforts of the enemy; for although they made their chief impression upon the right, by the village of Hochkirchen, Marefchal Daun, in order to divide the attention of the King, made another attack VOL. IV. upon

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BOOK upon the left, which was with difficulty fustained, a. effectually prevented him from fending re-enforcements to the right, where Mareschal Keith, under the greatest difadyantages, bore the brunt of the enemy's chief endeayours. Thus the battle raged till nine in the morning. when this gallant officer was fhot through the heart, Prince Francis of Brunswick had met with the same fate; Prince Maurice of Anhalt was wounded and taken priioner, and many others were either flain or difabled. As the right wing had been furprifed, the tents continued standing, and greatly embarrassed them in their defence. The foldiers had never been properly drawn up in order; the enemy still persevered in their attack with successive re-enforcements and redoubled refolution; and a confiderable flaughter was made by their artillery, which they had brought up to the heights of Hochkirchen. All thefe circumstances concurring, could not fail to increase the confusion and disaster of the Prussians; so that about ten the King was obliged to retire to Dobreschutz, with the loss of seven thousand men, of all his tents, and part of his baggage. Nor had the Austrian general much cause to boast of his victory. His loss of men was pretty near equal to that of the Prussian monarch; and, whatever reputation he might have acquired in foiling that enterprising prince, certainly his defign did not take effect in its full extent, for the Pruffians were next day in a condition to hazard another engagement. The King of Pruffs had fustained no damage which he could not eafily repair except the death of Mareschal Keith, which was doubt less an irreparable misfortune\*.

& XXXVII \* As very little notice was taken, in the detail published by authority of any part which this great man acted in the battle of Hochkirchen, and report was industriously circulated in this kingdom, That he was furprised his tent, naked, and half affeep, we think it the duty of a candid historian t vindicate his memory and reputation from the foul aspersion thrown by the perfidious and illiberal hand of envious malice, or else contrived to screen for other character from the imputation of misconduct. This task we are entite to perform by a gentleman of candour and undoubted credit, who learned the following particulars at Berlin from a person that was everwitness of the who

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XXXVII. His Prussian Majesty remained with his CHAP. army ten days at Dobreschutz, during which he endeayoured to bring the Austrians to a second engagement, but

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Field-Mareschal Keith, who arrived in the camp the very day transaction. that preceded the battle, disapproved of the lituation of the Prussian army, and remonstrated to the King on that subject. In consequence of his advice, a certain general was fent with a detachment to take possession of the heights that commanded the village of Hochkirchen; but by some fatality he misarried. Mareschal Keith was not in any tent, but lodged with Prince Frandid Brunswick, in a house belonging to a Saxon major. When the first alarm was given in the night, he inflantly mounted his horse, affembled a body of the nearest troops, and marched directly to the place that was attacked. The Austrians had taken possession of the hill which the Prussian officer was fint to occupy, and this they fortified with cannon: then they made themselves matters of the village in which the free companies of Anginelli had ben posted. Mareschal Keith immediately conceived the design of the Aufirian general, and knowing the importance of this place, thither directed all his efforts. He in person led on the troops to the attack of the village, from whence he drove the enemy; but being overpowered by numbers continually pouring down from the hills, he was obliged to retire in histurn. He rallied his men, returned to the charge, and regained possession of the place; being again repulled by fresh re-enforcements of the enemy, he made another effort, entered the village a third time, and finding it untenable, ordered it to be fet on fire. Thus he kept the Austrians at bay, and maintained a desperate conflict against the flower of the Austrian army, from four in the morning till nine, when the Pruffians were formed, and began to file off in their retreat During the whole dispute he rallied the troops in person, charged at their head, and exposed his life in the hottest of a dreadful fire, like a private captain of grenaders. He found it necessary to exert himself in this manner, the better to remove the bad effects of the confusion that prevailed, and in order to inspirit the troops to their utmost exertion by his voice, presence, and example. Even when dangerously wounded, at eight in the morning, he refused to quit the field; but continued to fignalise himself in the midst of the carnage until nine, when he received a fecond that in his breast, and fell speechless into the arms of Mr. Tibay, an English volunteer, who had attended him during the whole campaign. This gentleman, who was likewise wounded, applied to a Prussian officer for a file of men to remove the mareschal, being uncertain whether he was entirely deprived of life. His request was granted; but the soldiers, in advancing to the spot, were countermanded by another officer. He afterwards spoke on the same subject to one of the Prussian generals, a German prince, as he chanced to pass on horse-back: when Mr. Tibay told him the field-mareschal was lying wounded on the field, he asked if his wounds were mortal; and throtheranswering he was afraid they were, the prince shrugged up his shoulders, and rode off without further question. The body of this great officer, being thus shamefully abandoned, was soon stripped by the Austrian stragglers, and lay exposed and undiffinguished on the field of battle. In this fituation it B O O, K III. Count Daun declined the invitation, and kept his forces advantageously posted on eminences planted with artillery. His aim having been frustrated at Hochkirchen, where he fought with many advantages on his fide, he would not hazard another battle upon equal terms, with fuch an enterprifing enemy, rendered more vigilant by the check he had received, already re-enforced from the army of Prince Henry, and eager for an opportunity to retrieve the laurel which had been fnatched from him by the wiles of stratagem, rather than by the hand of valour. Count Daun having nothing more to hope from the active operations of his own army, contented himself with amufing the Pruffian monarch in Lufatia, while the Auftrian generals, Harsche and De Ville, should prosecute the reduction of Neiss and Cosel, in Silesia, which they now actually invested. As the Prussian monarch could not spare detachments to oppose every different corps of his enemies that acted against him in different parts of his dominions, he refolved to make up in activity what he wanted in number, and if possible to raise the siege of Neiss in person. With this view he decamped from Dobreschutz, and in fight of the enemy marched to Gorlitz without the least interruption. From thence he proceeded towards Silefia with his usual expedition, notwithstanding all the endeavours and activity of General Laudohn, who harraffed

was perceived by Count Lasci, son of the general of that name, with whom Mareschal Keith had served in Russia. This young count had been the mareschal's pupil, and revered him as his military father, though employed in the Austrian service. He recognised the body by the large scar of a dangerous wound, which General Keith had received in his thigh at the siege of Ockratow, and could not help bursting into tears to see his honoured masterthus extended at his feet, a naked, lifeless, and deserted corpse. He forthwith caused the body to be covered, and interred. It was afterwards taken up, and decently buried by the curate of Hochkirchen; and, finally, emoved to Berlinby order of the King of Prussia, who bestowed upon it shose suneral honours that were due to the dignified rank and transcendent merit of the deceased; merit so universally acknowledged, that even the Saxons lamented him as their best friend and patron, who protected them from violence and outrage, even while he acted a principal part in subjecting them to the dominion of his sovereign.

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harraffed the rear of the Pruffians, and gained some petty advantages over them. Count Daun not only fent this detached corps to retard them in their march, but at the fame time, by another route, detached a strong re-enforcement to the army of the besiegers. In the mean time, having received intelligence that the army of Prince Henry in Saxony was confiderably weakened, he himself marched thither, in hopes of expelling the Prince from that country, and reducing the capital in the King's absence. Indeed, his defigns were still more extensive, for he proposed to reduce Dresden, Leipsick, and Torgau at the same time; the first with the main body under his own direction, the fecond by the army of the Empire under the Prince de Deuxponts, and the third by a corps under General Haddick, while the forces directed by Laudohn should exclude the King from Lusatia. In execution of this plan he marched directly to the Elbe, which he passed at Pirna. and advanced to Drefden, which he hoped would furrender without putting him to the trouble of a formal fiege. The army of Prince Henry had already retired to the westward of this capital, before the Prince de Deuxponts, who had found means to cut off his communication with Leipfick, and even invested that city. During these transactions, General Haddick advanced against Torgau.

§ XXXVIII. The Field-Mareschal Count Daun appearing on the sixth day of November within sight of Dresden, at the head of sixty thousand men, encamped next day at Lockowitz, and on the eighth his advanced troops attacked the Prussian hussars and independent battalions, which were posted at Striessen and Gruenewiese. Count Schmettau, who commanded the garrison, amounting to ten thousand men, apprehensive that, in the course of skirmishing, the Austrian troops might enter the suburbs pellmell, posted Colonel Itzenplitz, with seven hundred men, in the redoubts that surrounded the suburbs, that in case of emergency they might support the irregulars: at the same time, as the houses that constituted the suburbs were generally so high as to overlook the ramparts,

BOOK III.

and command the city, he prepared combustibles and gave notice to the magistrates that they would be set on fire as foon as an Austrian should appear within the place. This must have been a dreadful declaration to the inhabitants of these suburbs, which compose one of the most elegant towns in Europe. In these houses, which were generally lofty and magnificent, the fashionable and wealthy class of people resided, and here a number of artists carried on a variety of curious manufactures. In vain the magistrates implored the mercy and forbearance of the Pruffian governour, and represented, in the most fubmissive strain, that as they were unconcerned in the war, they hoped they should be exempted from the horrours of devastation. In vain the royal family, who remained at Dresden, conjured him to spare that last refuge of diffressed royalty, and allow them at least a secure re-Edence, fince they were deprived of every other comfort. He continued inflexible, or rather determined to execute the orders of his master, which indeed he could not disobey with any regard to his own safety. On the ninth day of November, about noon, the Austrian vanguard attacked the advanced post of the garrison, repelled the huffars, drove the independent battalions into the fuburbs, and forced three of the redoubts, while their cannon played upon the town. The governour, expecting a vigorous attack next day, recalled his troops within the city, after they had fet fire to the suburbs. At three in the morning the fignal was made for this terrible conflagration, which in a little time reduced to ashes the beautiful fuburbs of Pirna, which had so lately flourished as the seat of gaiety, pleasure, and the ingenious arts. Every bosom warmed with benevolence must be affected at the recital of fuch calamities. It excites not only our compassion for the unhappy fufferers, but also our refentment against the perpetrators of fuch enormity. Next day Mareschal Daun fent an officer to Count Schmettau, with a message, expreffing his furprize at the destruction of the suburbs in a royal refidence, an act of inhumanity unheard of among christians.

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CHAP. IX. 8

christians. He defired to know if it was by the governour's order this measure was taken, and affured him, that he should be responsible, in his person, for whatever outrages had been or might be committed against a place in which a royal family refided. Schmettau gave him to understand that he had orders to defend the town to the last extremity, and that the preservation of what remained depended entirely on the conduct of his excellency; for, should he think proper to attack the place, he (the governour) would defend himself from house to house, and from street to street, and even make his last effort in the royal palace, rather than abandon the city. He excused the destruction of the suburbs as a necessary measure, authorifed by the practice of war; but he would have found it a difficult task to reconcile this step to the laws of eternal justice, and far less to the dictates of common humanity. Indeed, if the scene had happened in an enemy's country, orifno other step could have faved the lives and liberties of himself and his garrison, such a desperate remedy might have stood excused by the law of nature and of nations: but on this occasion he occupied a neutral city, over which he could exercise no other power and authority but that which he derived from illegal force and violence; nor was he at all reduced to the necessity of facrificing the place to his own fafety, inafmuch as he might have retired unmolested, by virtue of an honourable eapitulation, which however he did not demand. Whether the peremptory order of a superior will, in foro conscientia, justify an officer who hath committed an illegal or inhuman action, is a question that an English reader will scarce leave to the determination of a German casuist with one hundred and fifty thousand armed men in his retinue. Be this as it will, Mr. Ponickau, the Saxon minister, immediately after this tragedy was acted, without waiting for his master's orders, presented a memorial to the Diet of the Empire, complaining of it as an action referved for the history of the war which the King of Prussia had kindled in Germany, to be transmitted to future ages. He af-

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firmed, that, in execution of Schmettau's orders the foldiers had dispersed themselves in the streets of the Pirna and Witchen fuburbs, broke open the houses and shops, set fire to the combustibles, added fresh fuel, and then shut the doors; that the violence of the flames was kept up by red-hot balls fired into the houses, and along the streets; that the wretched inhabitants, who forfook their burning houses, were flain by the fire of the cannon and small arms; that those who endeavoured to save their persons and effects were pushed down and destroyed by the bayonets of the Prusfian foldiers, posted in the streets forthat purpose: he enumerated particular inflances of inhuman barbarity, and declared that a great number of people perished, either amidst the flames, or under the ruins of the houses. The destruction of two hundred and fifty elegant houses, and the total ruin of the inhabitants, were circumstances in themselves so deplorable, as to need no aggravation: but the account of the Saxon minister was shamefully exagge. rated, and all the particular instances of cruelty false in every circumstance. Baron Plotho, the minister of Brandenburgh, did not fail to answer every article of the Saxon memorial, and refute the particulars therein alledged, in a fair detail, authenticated by certificates under the hands of the magistrates, judges, and principal inhabitants of The most extraordinary part of this defence or vindication was the conclusion, in which the Baron folemnly affured the Diet, that the King of Prussia, from his great love to mankind, always felt the greatest emotion of foul, and the most exquisite concern, at the effusion of blood, the devastation of cities and countries, and the horrours of war, by which fo many thousand fellow creatures were overwhelmed; and that if his fincere and honest inclination to procure peace to Germany, his dear country, had met with the least regard, the present war, attended with fuch bloodshed and desolation, would have been prevented and avoided. He, therefore, declared that those who excited the present troubles, who, instead of extinguishing, threw oil upon the flames, must an-

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fwer to God for the seas of blood that had been, and would be shed, for the devastation of so many countries, and the entire ruin of so many innocent individuals. Such declarations cost nothing to those hardened politicians, who, seeling no internal check, are determined to sacrifice every consideration to the motives of rapacity and ambition. It would be happy, however, for mankind, were princes taught to believe that there is really an omnipotent and all-judging power, that will exact a severe account of their conduct, and punish them for their guilt, without any respect to their persons; that pillaging a whole people is more cruel than robbing a single person; and that the massacre of thousands is, at least, as criminal as private murther.

C H A P. IX.

\$XXXIX. While Count Daun was employed in making afruitless attempt upon the capital of Saxony, the King of Prussia proceeded in his march to Neiss, which was completely invested on the third day of October. The operations of the fiege were carried on with great vigour by the Austrian general, De Harsche, and the place was as vigoroufly defended by the Prussian governour, Theskau. ill the first day of November, when the Prussian monarch approached, and obliged the besiegers to abandon their enterprise. M. de Harsche having raised the siege, the King detached General Fouquet with a body of troops across the river Neiss, and immediately the blockade of Cosel was likewise abandoned. De Harsche retired to Bohemia, and De Vill hovered about Jagernsdorf. fortress of Neiss was no sooner relieved than the King of Prussia began his march on his return to Saxony, where his immediate presence was required. At the same time, the two bodies under the Generals Dohna and Wedel penetrated by different routes into that country. former had been left at Custrin, to watch the motions of the Russians, who had by this time retreated to the Vistula, and even croffed that river at Thorn, and the other had, during the campaign, observed the Swedes, who had now entirely evacuated the Prussian territories, so that Wedel

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BOOK was at liberty to co-operate with the King in Saxony. He accordingly marched to Torgau, the fiege of which had been undertaken by the Austrian general, Haddick, who was repulfed by Wedel, and even purfued to the neighbourhood of Eulenbourg. Wedel, being afterwards joined by Dohna, drove him from thence with confiderable lofs, and then raifed the fiege of Leipfick. Mean while, the King profecuted his march towards the capital of Saxony, driving before him the body of Austrian troops, under Laudohn, who retreated to Zittau. On the tenth day of November Count Daun retired from Drefden, and with the army of the Empire fell back towards Bohemia; and on the twentieth the King arrived in that city, where he approved of the governour's conduct. The Ruffian general forefeeing that he should not be able to maintain his ground during the winter in Pomerania, unless he could secure some sea-port on the Baltick, by which he might be supplied with provisions, detached General Palmbach, with fifteen thousand men, to besiege the town of Colberg, an inconfiderable place, very meanly fortified. It was accordingly invested on the third day of October; but the befiegers were either so ill provided with proper implements, or fo little acquainted with operations of this nature, that the garrison, though feeble, maintained the place against all their attacks for fix-and-twenty days; at the expiration of which they abandoned their enterprise, and cruelly ravaged the open country in their retreat. Thus, by the activity and valour of the Prussian monarch, his generals, and officers, fix fieges were raifed almost at the same period, namely, those of Colberg, Neifs, Cofel, Torgau, Leipfick, and Drefden.

§ XL. The variety of fortune which the King of Prussia experienced in the course of this campaign was very remarkable; but the spirit of his conduct, and the rapidity of his motions, were altogether without example. In the former campaign we were dazzled with the luftre of his victories; in this we admire his fortitude and skill in ftemming the different torrents of advertity, and rifing

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superior to his evil fortune. One can hardly without CHAP. aftonishment recollect, that in the course of a few months he invaded Moravia, invested Olmutz, and was obliged to relinquish that design; that he marched through an enemy's country, in the face of a great army, which, though it harraffed him in his retreat, could not, in a route of an hundred miles, obtain any advantage over him; that, in fpite of his disafter at Olmutz, and the difficulties of such a march, he penetrated into Bohemia, drove the enemy from Koningsgratz, executed another dangerous and fatiguing march to the Oder, defeated a great army of Ruffians, and returned by the way of Saxony, from whence he drove the Austrian and Imperial armies; that after his defeat at Hochkirchen, where he lost two of his best generals, and was obliged to leave his tents standing, he baffled the vigilance and fuperior number of the victorious army, rushed like a whirlwind to the relief of Silesia, invaded by an Austrian army, which he compelled to retire with precipitation from that province; that, with the same rapidity of motion, he wheeled about to Saxony, and once more rescued it from the hands of his adversaries; that in one campaign he made twice the circuit of his dominions, relieved them all in their turns, and kept all his possessions entire against the united efforts of numerous armies, conducted by generals of confummate skill and undaunted resolution. His character would have been still more complete, if his moderation had been equal to his courage, but in this particular we cannot applaud his conduct. cenfed by the perfecuting spirit of his enemies, he wreaked his vengeance on those who had done him no injury; and the cruelties which the Ruffians had committed in his dominions were retaliated upon the unfortunate inhabitants of Saxony. In the latter end of September, the president of the Prussian military directory sent a letter to the magistrates of Leipsick, requiring them in the King's name to pay a new contribution of fix hundred thousand crowns, and to begin immediately with the payment of one-third part, on pain of military execution. In answer

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to this demand the magistrates represented that the city having been exhaufted by the enormous contributions already raised, was absolutely incapable of furnishing further fupplies; that the trade was stagnated and ruined, and the inhabitants so impoverished, that they could no longer pay the ordinary taxes. This remonstrance made no impression. At five in the morning the Prussian foldiers affembled, and were posted in all the streets, squares, market-places, cæmeteries, towers, and steeples; then the gates being thut, in order to exclude the populace of the fuburbs from the city, the fenators were brought into the town-hall, and accosted by General Hauss, who told them the king his mafter would have money; and if they refused to part with it the city should be plundered. To this peremptory address they replied to this effect: "We " have no more money—we have nothing left but life; and "we recommend ourselves to the King's mercy." In consequence of this declaration, dispositions were made for giving up the city to be plundered. Cannon were planted in all the streets, the inhabitants were ordered to remain within doors, and every house resounded with dismal cries and lamentations. The dreaded pillage, however, was converted into a regular exaction. A party of foldiers, commanded by a fubaltern, went from house to house, fignifying to every burgher that he should produce all his specie, on pain of immediate pillage and massacre; and every inhabitant delivered up his all without further heftation. About fix in the evening, the foldiers returned to their quarters; but the magistrates were detained in confinement, and all the citizens were overwhelmed with grief and confternation. Happy Britain, who knowest such grievances only by report! When the King of Pruffia first entered Saxony, at the beginning of the war, he declared he had no defign to make a conquest of that electorate, but only to keep it as a depositum for the security of his own dominions, until he could oblige his enemies to acquiesce in reasonable terms of peace; but upon his last arrival at Dreiden he adopted a new refolution. In the beginning

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beginning of December the Prussian directory of war flued a decree to the deputies of the states of the electorate, demanding a certain quantity of flour and forage, according to the convention formerly fettled; at the fame time fignifying, that though the King of Prussia had hitherto treated the electorate as a country taken under his special protection, the face of affairs was now changed in such a manner, that for the future he would confider it in no other light than that of a conquered country. Russians had seised in Prussia all the estates and effects belonging to the King's officers: a retaliation was now made upon the effects of the Saxon officers who ferved in the Ruffian army. Seals were put on all the cabinets containing papers belonging to the privy-counsellors of his Polish Majesty, and they themselves ordered to depart for Warfaw at a very fhort warning. Though the city had been impoverished by former exactions, and very lately subjected to military execution, the King of Prussia demanded fresh contributions, and even extorted them by dint of severities that shock humanity. He surrounded the exchange with foldiers, and confining the merchants to ftraw-beds and naked apartments, obliged them to draw bills for very large fums on their foreign correspondents: a method of proceeding much more suitable to the despotism of a Persian sophi towards a conquered people who professed a different faith, than reconcileable to the character of a protestant prince towards a peaceable nation of brethren, with whom he was connected by the common ties of neighbourhood and religion. Even if they had acted as declared enemies, and been subdued with arms in their hands, the excesses of war on the side of the conqueror ought to have ceased with the hostilities of the conqueror, who, by submitting to his sway, would have become his subjects, and in that capacity had a claim to his protection. To retaliate upon the Saxons, who had elpoused no quarrel, the barbarities committed by the Ruffians, with whom he was actually at war, and to treat 25 a conquered province a neutral country, which his ene-

CHAP. IX.

III. 0 1758.

BOOK mies had entered by violence, and been obliged to evacuate by force of arms, was a species of conduct founded on pretences which overturn all right, and confound all reason.

\$ XLI. Having recorded all the transactions of the campaign, except those in which the Swedes were concerned, it now remains that we should particularise the progress which was made in Pomerania by the troops of that nation, under the command of Count Hamilton. We have already observed, that in the beginning of the year the Pruffian general, Lehwald, had compelled them to evacuate the whole province, except Stralfund, which was likewife invested. This, in all probability, would have been besieged in form, had not Lehwald resigned the command of the Prussians, on account of his great age and infirmities, and his fucceffor Count Dohna been obliged to withdraw his troops, in order to oppose the Russian army on the other fide of Pomerania. The blockade of Stralfund being consequently raised, and that part of the country entirely evacuated by the Prussians, the Swedish troops advanced again from the isle of Rugen, to which they had retired: but the supplies and re-enforcements they expected from Stockholm were delayed in fuch a manner, either from a deficiency in the subsidies promised by France, or from the management of those who were averse to the war, that great part of the feafon was elapfed before they undertook any important enterprise. Indeed, while they lay encamped under the cannon of Stralfund, waiting for these supplies, their operations were retarded by the explosion of a whole ship-load of gunpowder intended for their use; an event imputed to the practices of the Prussian party in Sweden, which at this period feemed to gain ground, and even threatened a change in the ministry. At length the re-enforcement arrived about the latter end of June, and their general seemed determined to act with vigour. In the beginning of July, his army being put in motion, he fent a detachment to dislodge the few Prussian troops that were left at Anclam, Demmin, and other places, to guard that frontier; and they retreated accord-

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ingly. Count Hamilton having nothing further to op- C H A P. pole him in the field, in a very little time recovered all Swedifh Pomerania, and even made hot incursions into the Prussian territories. Meanwhile, a combined fleet of thirtythree Ruffian and seven Swedish ships of war appeared in the Baltick, and anchored between the islands of Dragoe and Amagh; but they neither landed troops, nor committed hostilities. The Swedish general advanced as far 25 Fehrbellin, fent out parties that raifed contributions within five-and-twenty miles of Berlin, and threw the inhabitants of that capital into the utmost consternation. The King of Prussia, alarmed at their progress; dispatched General Wedel from Dresden, with a body of troops that were augmented on their march; fo that, on the twentieth of September, he found himself at Berlin with eleven thousand effective men, at the head of whom he proceeded against Count Hamilton, while the Prince of Bevern, with five thousand, advanced on the other fide from Stetin. At their approach, the Swedish commander retired, after having left a garrison of fourteen hundred men at Fehrbellin, in order to retard the Prussians, and secure the retreat of his army. The place was immediately attacked by General Wedel; and though the Swedes disputed the ground from house to house with uncommon obstinacy, he at last drove them out of the town, with the loss of one half of their number either killed or taken prisoners. The body of the Swedish army, without hazarding any other action, immediately evacuated the Pruffian territories, and returned to the neighbourhood of Stralfund, intending to take winter-quarters in the isle of Rugen. Count Hamilton, either difgusted at the restrictions he had been laid under, or finding himfelf unable to act in such a manner as might redound to the advantage of his reputation, threw up his command, retired from the army, and refigned all his other employments.

§ XLII. The King of Prussia was not only favoured by a confiderable party in Sweden, but he had also raised aftrong interest in Poland, among such Palatines as had always

BOOK III. 1758. always opposed the measures of the reigning family. These were now re-enforced by many patriots, who dreaded the vicinity, and suspected the designs of the Ruffian army. The diet of the republick was opened on the fecond day of November; and, after warm debates, M. Malachowski was unanimously elected mareschal; but no fooner had the chamber of nuncios begun their deliberations, than a number of voices were raifed against the encroachments of the Russian troops, who had taken up their residence in Poland; and heavy complaints were made of the damages fustained from their cruelty and rapine. Great pains were taken to appeale these clamours: and many were prevailed upon to refer these grievances to the king in fenate; but when this difficulty feemed almost furmounted, Padhorski, the nuncio of Volhinia, stood up, and declared that he would not permit any other point to be discussed in the diet while the Russians maintained the least footing within the territories of the republick. Vain were all the attempts of the courtiers to perfuade and mollify this inflexible patriot, he folemnly protested against their proceedings, and hastily withdrew; so that the Mareschal was obliged to dissolve the assembly, and recourse washad to a lenatus confilium, to concert proper measuresto be taken in the present conjuncture. The King of Poland was, on this occasion, likewise disappointed in his views of providing for his fon, Prince Charles, in the duchy of Courland. He had been recommended by the court of Russia, and even approved by the states of that country; but two difficulties occurred. The states declared they could not proceed to a new election during the life of their former duke, Count Biron, who was still alive, though a prisoner in Siberia, unless their duchy should be declared vacant by the King and republick of Poland; and, according to the laws of that country, no prince could be elected, until he should have declared himself of the Augsburgh confession. His Polish Majesty, however, being determined to furmount all obstacles to his son's interest,

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interest, ordered Count Malachowski, high chancellor of CHAP. Poland, to deliver to Prince Charles a diploma, by which the King granted permission to the states of Courland to elect that prince for their duke, and appointed the day for his election and instalment, which accordingly took place in the month of January, notwithstanding the clamour of many Polish grandees, who persisted in affirming that the king had no power to grant fuch permission without the consent of the diet. The viciffitudes of the campaign had produced no revolutions in the feveral fystems adopted by the different powers in Europe. The Czarina, who in the month of June had fignified her sentiments and defigns against the King of Prussia, in a declaration delivered to all the foreign ministers at Petersburgh, seemed now, more than ever, determined to act vigorously in behalf of the Empress-Queen of Hungary, and the unfortunate King of Poland, who still resided at Warsaw. The court of Vienna distributed among the Imperial ministers at the several courts of the Empire copies of a rescript, explaining the conduct of her generals fince the beginning of the campaign, and concluding with expressions of selfapprobation to this effect: "Though the iffue of the tampaign be not as yet entirely fatisfactory, and fuch as might be defired, the Imperial court enjoys, at least, the sincere satisfaction of reflecting, that, according to the thange of circumstances, it instantly took the most vigorous resolutions; that it was never deficient in any thing that might contribute to the good of the common cause, and is now employed in making preparations, from which the most happy consequences may be expected."

§ XLIII. We have already hinted at a decree of the Aulick council of the Empire, published in the month of August, enjoining all directors of circles, all Imperial towns, and the nobleffe of the Empire, to transmit to Vienna an exact lift of all those who had disobeyed the avocatoria of the Empire, and adhered to the rebellion railed by the Elector of Brandenburgh; that their revenues might be fequestered, and themselves punished in their

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honours, persons, and effects. As the Elector of Hanoves was plainly pointed out, and, indeed, expressly mentioned in this decree, the King of Great-Britain, by the hands of Baron Gemmegen, his electoral minister, presented a memorial to the diet of the Empire in the month of November, enumerating the inflances in which he had exerted himself, and even exposed his life, for the preservation and aggrandifement of the house of Austria. return for these important services, he observed that the Empress-Queen had refused him the affistance stipulated in treaties against an invasion planned by France, whose hatred he had drawn upon himself by his friendship to that princess; and his Imperial Majesty even denied him the dictatorial letters which he follicited: that the courts of Vienna had figned a treaty with the crown of France, in which it was stipulated that the French troops should pass the Weser, and invade the electorate of Hanover, where they were joined by the troops of the Empress-Queen, who ravaged his Britannick Majesty's dominions with greater cruelty than even the French had practifed; and the same Duke of Cumberland, who had been wounded at Dettingen in the defence of her Imperial Majesty, was obliged to fight at Hastenbeck against the troops of that very princess, in defence of his father's dominions; that she fent commissaries to Hanover, who shared with the crown of France the contributions extorted from the electorate; rejected all proposals of peace, and dismissed from her court the minister of Brunswick-Lunenbourg: that his Imperial Majesty, who had sworn to protect the Empire, and oppose the entrance of foreign troops destined to oppress any of the states of Germany, afterwards required the King of England to withdraw his troops from the countries which they occupied, that a French army might again have free passage into his German dominions: that the Emperor had recalled these troops, released them from their allegiance to their fovereign, enjoined them to abandon their posts, their colours, and the service in which they were embarked, on pain of being punished in body,

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CHAP. IX.

body, honour, and estate; and that the King of England himself was threatened with the ban of the Empire. He took notice, that, in quality of elector, he had been accufed of refufing to concur with the refolutions of the diet taken in the preceding year, of entering into alliance with the King of Pruffia, joining his troops to the armies of that prince, employing auxiliaries belonging to the states of the Empire, fending English forces into Germany, where they had taken possession of Embden, and exacting contributions in different parts of Germany. In aniwer to these imputations, he alledged that he could not, confistent with his own fafety, or the dictates of common sense, concur with a majority, in joining his troops, which were immediately necessary for his own defence, to those which, from the arbitrary views of the court of Vienna, were led against his friend and ally, the King of Prussia, by a prince who did not belong to the generality of the Empire, and on whom the command had been conferred, without a previous conclusum of the Germanick body; that, with respect to his alliance with the King of Prussia, he had a right, when deserted by his former allies, to feek affistance wherefoever it could be procured: and furely no just grounds of complaint could be offered against that which his Prussian Majesty lent, to deliver the electoral states of Brunswick, as well as those of Brunfwick-Wolfenbuttel, Heffe, and Buckebourg, from the oppressions of their common enemy. Posterity, he faid, would hardly believe, that at a time when the troops of Austria, the Palatinate, and Wirtemberg, were engaged to invade the countries of the Empire, other members of the Germanick body, who employed auxiliaries in their defence, should be threatened with outlawry and sequeltration. He owned, that, in quality of king, he had fent over English troops to Germany, and taken possession of Embden; steps for which he was accountable to no power upon earth, although the constitution of the Empire permit the co-estates to make use of foreign troops, not indeed for the purpose of invasion or conquest in Germany, but for their defence and prefervation. Healfo acknowledged that

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he had refented the conduct, and chaftifed the injuftice. of those co-estates who had affisted his enemies, and helped to ravage his dominions; inferring, that if the crown of France was free to pillage the estates of the Duke of Brunswick, and the Landgrave of Heffe-Caffel, because they had supplied the King of England with auxiliaries; if the Empress-Queen had a right to appropriate to herself half of the contributions raised by the French King in these countries, furely his Britannick-Majesty had an equal right to make those feel the burthen of the war who had favoured the unjust enterprises of his enemies. He expressed his hope, that the diet, after having duely confidered these circumflances, would, by way of advice, propose to his Imperial Majesty that he should annul his most inconfistent mandates and not only take effectual measures to protect the electorate and its allies, but also give orders for commencing against the Empress-Queen, as archduchess of Austria, the Elector Palatine, and the Duke of Wirtemberg, fuch proceedings as the wanted to enforce against his Britannick Majesty, Elector of Brunswick-Lunenbourg. For this purpose the minister now requested their excellencies to ask immediately the necessary instructions for their principals. The rest of this long memorial contained a justification of his Britannick Majesty's conduct in deviating from the capitulation of Closter-Seven; with a refutation of the arguments adduced, and a retortion of the reproaches levelled against the King of England, in the paper or manifesto composed and published under the direction of the French ministry, and intituled, "A Parallel of the Conduct of the King of France with that of the King of England, relative to the Breach of the Capitulation of Closter-Seven by the Hanoverians." But to this invective a more circumstantial answer was published! in which, among other curious particulars, the letter of expostulation, said to have been written by the Prussian monarch to the King of Great-Britain after the defeat at Collin, is treated as an infamous piece of forgery, produced by some venal pen employed to impose upon the publick. The author also, in his endeavours to demonstrate ftrale

frate his Britannick Majesty's aversion to a continental CHAP. war, very justly observes, that " none but such as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England, can believe, that, without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea. England, therefore, had no interest to foment quarrels or wars in Europe; but, for the fame reason, there was room to fear that France would embrace a different fystem: accordingly, she took no pains to conceal her views, and her envoys declared publickly that a war upon the continent was inevitable; and that the King's dominions in Germany would be its principal object." He afterwards, in the course of his argumentation, adds, "that they must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to refift those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the fea. In case of a war upon the continent, the two powers must pay subsidies; only with this difference, that France can employ her own land forces, and aspire at conquests." Such were the professed sentiments of the British ministry. founded upon eternaltruth and demonstration, and openly avowed, when the business was to prove that it was not the interest of Great-Britain to maintain a war upon the continent; but, afterwards, when this continental war was eagerly espoused, fostered, and cherished by the blood and treasure of the English nation, then the partisans of that very ministry, which had thus declared that England, without any diversion on the continent of Europe, was an over-match for France by fea, which may be termed the British element; then their partisans, their champions, declaimers, and dependants, were taught to rife in rebellion against their former doctrine, and, in defiance of common sense and reflexion, affirm that a diversion in Germany was absolutely necessary to the successful issue of England's operations, in Asia, Africa, and America. Notwithstanding all the facts and arguments affembled in this elaborate memorial, to expose the ingratitude of the Empress-Queen, and demonstrate the oppressive measures

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BOOK III. 1758. adopted by the Imperial power, it remains to be proved, that the member of a community is not obliged to yield obedience to the resolutions taken, and the decrees published, by the majority of those who compose this community; especially when re-enforced with the authority of the supreme magistrate, and not repugnant to the fundamental constitution on which that community was established.

§ XLIV. If the Empress-Queen was not gratified to the extent of her wishes in the fortune of the campaign, at least her self-importance was flattered in another point, which could not fail of being interesting to a princessfamed for a glowing zeal and inviolable attachment to the religion of Rome. In the month of August the Pope conferred upon her the title of Apostolical Queen of Hungary, conveyed by a brief, in which he extolled her piety, and launched out into retrospective eulogiums of her predeceffors, the princes of Hungary, who had been always accustomed to fight and overcome for the catholick faith under this holy banner. This compliment, however, the did not derive from the regard of Prosper Lambertini, who exercised the papal sway under the assumed name of Benedict XIV. That pontiff, univerfally esteemed for his good fense, moderation, and humanity, had breathed his last in the month of April, in the eighty-fourth year of his age; and in July was succeeded in the papacy by Cardinal Charles Rezzonico, Bishop of Padua, by birth a Venetian. He was formerly auditor of the Rota; afterwards promoted to the purple by Pope Clement XII. at the nomination of the republick of Venice; was distinguished by the title of St. Maria d'Ara Cœli, the principal convent of the Cordeliers, and nominated protector of the Pandours, or Illyrians. When he afcended the papal chair, he affumed the name of Clement XIII. in gratitude to the last of that name, who was his benefactor. Though of a disagreeable person, and even deformed in his body, he enjoyed good health, and a vigorous conftitution. As an ecclefiastick, his life was exemplary; his morals were pure and unimpeached; in his character he

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is faid to have been learned, diligent, steady, devout, and in every respect worthy to succeed such a predecessor as Benedict.

CHAP. IX.

§ XLV. The King of Spain wifely perfifted in reaping the advantages of a neutrality, notwithstanding the intrigues of the French partifans at the court of Madrid, who endeavoured to alarm his jealoufy by the conquests which the English had projected in America. of Sardinia fagaciously kept aloof, refolving, in imitation of his predecessors, to maintain his power on a respectable footing, and be ready to seife all opportunities to extend and promote the interest of his crown, and the advantage of his country. As for the King of Portugal, he had prudently embraced the same system of forbearance: but in the latter end of the feafon his attention was engroffed by a domestick incident of a very extraordinary nature. Whether he had, by particular inflances of feverity, exasperated the minds of certain individuals, and exercised his dominion in fuch acts of arbitrary power as excited a general spirit of disaffection among his nobility; or, lastly, by the vigorous measures pursued against the encroaching Jesuits in Paraguay, and their correspondents in Portugal, had incurred the refentment of that fociety, we shall not pretend to determine: perhaps all these motives concurred in giving birth to a conspiracy against his life, which was actually executed at this juncture with the most desperate resolution. On the third day of September, the King, according to custom, going out in a carriage to take the air, accompanied by one domestick, was, in the night, at a folitary place near Belem, attacked by three men on horseback, armed with musquetoons, one of whom fired his piece at the coachman without effect. The man, however, terrified both on his own account and that of his lovereign's, drove the mules at full fpeed; a circumstance which in some measure disconcerted the other two conspirators, who pursued him at full gallop, and having no leisure to take aim, discharged their pieces at random through the back of the carriage. The flugs with which

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they were loaded happened to pass between the King's right arm and his breaft, dilacerating the parts from the shoulder to the elbow, but without damaging the bone, or penetrating into the cavity of the body. Finding himfelf grievously wounded, and the blood flowing a-pace, he, with fuch presence of mind as cannot be sufficiently admired, instead of proceeding to the palace, which was at some distance, ordered the coachman to return to Junqueria, where his principal furgeon resided, and there his wounds were immediately dreffed. By this refolution, he not only prevented the irreparable mischief that might have arisen from an excessive effusion of blood; but, without all doubt, faved his life from the hands of other affaffins, posted on the road to accomplish the regicide, in case he should escape alive from the first attack. This instance of the King's recollection was magnified into a miracle, on a supposition that it must have been the effect of divine inspiration; and, indeed, among a people addicted to superstition, might well pass for a favourable interpolition of Providence. The King, being thus disabled in his right arm, issued a decree, investing the Queen with the absolute power of government. In the mean time, no person had access to his presence but herself, the first minister, the Cardinal de Saldanha, the physicians, and furgeons. An embargo was immediately laid on all the shipping in the port of Lisbon. Rewards were publickly offered, together with promise of pardon to the accomplices, for detecting any of the affaffins; and fuch other measures used, that in a little time the whole conspiracy was discovered: a conspiracy the more dangerous, as it appeared to have been formed by persons of the first quality and influence. The Duke de Aveiro, of the family of Mascarenhas; the Marquis de Tavora, who had been viceroy of Goa, and now actually enjoyed the commission of general of the horse; the Count de Attouguia, the Marquis de Alloria, together with their wives, children, and whole families, were arrested immediately after the affaffination, as principals in the defign; and many other accomplices,

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accomplices, including some Jesuits, were apprehended in CHAP. the fequel. The further proceedings on this mysterious affair, with the fate of the conspirators, will be particularifed among the transactions of the following year. present, it will be sufficient to observe, that the King's wounds were attended with no bad consequences; nor did the imprisonment of those noblemen produce any disturbance in the kingdom.

§ XLVI. The domestick occurrences of France were tiflued with a continuation of the disputes between the parliaments and clergy, touching the bull Unigenitus. In vain the King had interposed his authority; first proposing an accommodation; then commanding the parliament to forbear taking cognizance of a religious contest, which did not fall under their jurisdiction; and, thirdly, banishing their persons, and abrogating their power. He afterwards found it necessary to the peace of his dominions to recall and re-instate those venerable patriots; and, being convinced of the intolerable infolence and turbulent spirit of the Archbishop of Paris, had exiled that prelate in his turn. He was no soonerre-admitted to his function, than he refumed his former conduct, touching the denial of the facraments to those who refused to acknowledge the bull Unigenitus: he even acted with redoubled zeal; intrigued with the other prelates; caballed among the inferior clergy; and not only revived, but augmented, the troubles throughout the whole kingdom. Bishops, curates, and monks prefumed to with-hold spiritual consolation from persons in extremity, and were punished by the civil power. Other parliaments of the kingdom followed the example exhibited by that of Paris, in afferting their authority and privileges. The King commanded them to defift, on pain of incurring his indignation: they

remonstrated, and persevered; while the Archbishop re-

peated his injunctions and centures, and continued to in-

flame the dispute to such a dangerous degree, that he was

given to understand he should be again obliged to quit the

capital, if he did not proceed with more moderation.

IX. 1758. B O O K III. 1758. But the chief care of the French ministry was employed in regulating the finances, and establishing funds of cred for raising money to pay subsidies, and maintain the wa in Europe and America. In the course of this year the had not only confiderably re-enforced their armies in Gen many, but made furprising efforts to supply the colony of Canada with troops, artillery, stores, and ammunition for its defence against the operations of the British forces which greatly out-numbered the French upon the conti The court of Versailles practifed every stratagen to elude the vigilance of the English cruifers. The ship destined for America they detached, both single and in convoys, fometimes from the Mediterranean, fometime from their harbours in the Channel. They affemble transports in one port, in order to withdraw the attention of their enemies from another, where their convoys la ready for failing; and in boifterous weather, when the English could no longer block up their harbours, their storeships came forth, and hazarded the voyage, for the relief of their American settlements. Those that had the good fortune to arrive on the coast of that continent were obliged to have recourse to different expedients for escaping the British squadrons stationed at Halifax, or cruising in the bay of St. Laurence. They either ventured to navi gate the river before it was clear of the ice, fo early in the fpring, that the enemy had not yet quitted the harbourd Nova-Scotia; or they waited on the coast of Newfound land for fuch thick fogs as might screen them from the notice of the English cruifers, in failing up the gulf or, lastly, they penetrated through the Straits of Belleisle a dangerous passage, which, however, led them directly into the river St. Laurence, at a confiderable distance above the station of the British squadron. Though the French navy was by this time fo reduced, that it could neither face the English at sea, nor furnish proper convoy for commerce, her ministry nevertheless attempted to alarm the subjects of Great-Britain with the project of a invasion. Flat-hottomed boats were built, transport collected

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ollected, large thips of the line equipped, and troops ordered to affemble on the coast for embarkation; but this mas no more than a feint to arouse the apprehension of the Inglish, disconcert the administration, prejudice the national credit, and deter the government from fending forces tokeep alive the war in Germany. A much more effectual method they took to diffress the trade of England, by laying up their useless ships of war, and encouraging the equipment of frout privateers, which did confiderable damage to the commerce of Great-Britain and Ireland, by cruifing in the seas of Europe and America. Some of them by close in the harbours of the Channel, fronting the coast of England, and darted out occasionally on the trading hips of this nation, as they received intelligence from wats employed for that purpose. Some chose their station n the North-Sea, where a great number of captures were made upon the coaft of Scotland; others cruised in the chops of the Channel, and even to the westward of Ireland; but hefar greater number scoured the seasinthe neighbourhood of the Leeward Islands in the West-Indies, where they took aprodigious number of British ships, failing to and from the fugar-colonies, and conveyed them to their own fettlements in Martinique, Guadaloupe, or St. Domingo.

SXLVII. With respect to the war that raged in Germany, the King of Denmark wisely pursued that course which happily preserved him from being involved in those roubles by which great part of Europe was agitated, and terminated in that point of national advantage which a king ought ever to have in view for the benefit of his people. By observing a scrupulous neutrality, he enhanced his importance among his neighbours: he saw himself courted by all the belligerent powers: he saved the blood and treasure of his subjects: he received large subsidies, in consideration of his sorbearance; and enjoyed, unmoested, a much more considerable share of commerce than the could expect to carry on, even in times of universal tranquillity. He could not perceive that the protestant teligion had any thing to apprehend from the consederacy

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BOOK which was formed against the Prussian monarch; nor wa he misled into all the expence, the perils, and disquiets a fanguinary war, by that ignis fatuus which hath feduce and impoverished other opulent nations, under the speciou title of the balance of power in Germany. Howfoever h might be swayed by private inclination, he did not thin it was a point of consequence to his kingdom whether Pomerania was possessed by Sweden or Prussia; whether the French army was driven back beyond the Rhine, penetrated once more into the electorate of Hanover whether the Empress-Queen was stripped of herremaining possessions in Silesia, or the King of Prussia circumscribe within the original bound of his dominion. for granted that France, for her own fake, would pre vent the ruin of that enterprifing monarch; and that the house of Austria would not be so impolitick, and blind its own interest, as to permit the Empress of Russia to make and retain conquests in the Empire: but, even if the powers should be weak enough to facrifice all the maxim of found policy to caprice or refentment, he did not thin himself so deeply concerned in the event, as, for the distant prospect of what might possibly happen, to plunge headlon into a war that must be attended with certain and imme diatedifadvantages. True it is, hehadnohereditaryelector rate in Germany that was threatened with invation; no if he had, is it to be supposed that a prince of his sagacit and patriotism would have impoverished his kingdom Denmark, for the precarious defence of a distant territory It was referved for another nation to adopt the pernicion absurdity of wasting its blood and treasure, exhausting revenues, loading its own back with the most grievous in positions, incurring an enormous debt, big with bankrupto and ruin; in a word, of expending above an hundred an fifty millions sterling in fruitless efforts to defend a distant country, the entire property of which was never valued one twentieth part of that fum; a country with which had no natural connexion; but a common alliance arifin from accident. The King of Denmark, though himse

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formany, almost contiguous to the scenes of the present war, did not yet think himself so nearly concerned in the sue, as to declare himself either principal or auxiliary in the quarrel: yet he took care to maintain his forces by sea and land upon a respectable footing: and, by this conduct, he provided not only for the security of his own country, but over-awed the belligerent powers, who considered him as a prince capable of making either scale preponderate, just as he might choose to trim the balance. Thus he preserved his wealth, commerce, and consequence and iminished; and, instead of being harrassed as a party, was honoured as an umpire.

§ XLVIII. The United Provinces, though as adverse shis Danish Majesty to any participation in the war, did not, however, so scrupulously observe the neutrality they professed: at least, the traders of that republick, either from an inordinate thirst of lucre, or a secret biass in favour of the enemies of Great-Britain, affifted the French commerce with all the appearance of the most flagrant par-We have, in the beginning of this year's transactions, observed, that a great number of their ships were taken by the English cruifers, and condemned as legal prizes, for having French property on board: that the Dutch merchants, exasperated by their losses, exclaimed against the English as pirates and robbers, petitioned the States for redrefs in very high terms, and even loudly clamoured for a war against Great-Britain. The charge of violence and injustice which they brought against the English, for taking and confiscating the ships that transported to Europe the produce of the French islands in the West-Indies, they founded on the tenth article of the treaty of commerce between Great-Britain and the States-General of the United Provinces, concluded in the year one thoufand fix hundred and fixty-eight, stipulating, " That whatever shall be found on board the ships of the subjects of the United Provinces, though the lading, or part thereof, may belong to the enemies of Great-Britain, shall be free and

CHAP. IX. B O O R III. 1758. and unmolested; except these be prohibited good which are to be ferved in the manner prescribed by th foregoing articles." From this article the Dutch mer chants argued, that, if there be no prohibited goods of board, the English had no right to stop or molest any o their ships, or make the least enquiry to whom the men chandife belonged, whence it was brought, or whithe bound. This plea the English casuists would by no mean admit, for the following reasons: A general and perpe tual license to carry on the whole trade of their enem would be fuch a glaring abfurdity, as no convention could authorise: common sense has dictated, and Grotius de clared, that no man can be supposed to have consented to an abfurdity; therefore, the interpretation given by the Dutch to this article could not be supposed to be its tru and genuine meaning; which, indeed, relates to nothing more than the common course of trade, as it was usuall carried on in time of peace. But, even should this in terpretation be accepted, the article, and the treaty itsel would be superfeded and annulled by a subsequent treaty concluded between the two nations in the year one thou fand fix hundred and feventy-five, and often confirmed fince that period, stipulating, in a fecret article, Tha neither of the contracting parties should give, nor con fent that any of their subjects and inhabitants should give any aid, favour, or council, directly or indirectly, b land or fea, or on the fresh waters; nor should furnish or permit the subjects or inhabitants of their respective territories to furnish, any ships, soldiers, seamen, victuals monies, instruments of war, gunpowder, or any other necessaries for making war, to the enemies of either party of any rank or condition foever. Now, the Dutch have infringed this article in many instances during the presen war, both in Europe and America; and, as they have openly contravened one treaty, the English are no obliged to observe any other. They, moreover, forfeited right to the observance of the treaty in question, by re fusing the fuccours with which they were bound, in the

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noft folemn manner, to furnish the King of Great-Briain, in case any of his territories in Europe should be attacked: for nothing could be more weak and frivolous han the allegation upon which this refufal was founded; namely, that the hostilities in Europe were commenced by the English, when they seised and confiscated the vessels of France; and they, being the aggreffors, had no right to infift upon the fuccours stipulated in a treaty which was purely defensive. If this argument has any weight, the treaty itself can have no fignification. The French, in the present case, will always commence the war in America; and when their ships, containing re-enforcements and stores for the maintenance of that war, shall be aken on the European feas, perhaps in confequence of heir being exposed for that purpose, they will exclaim that the English were the aggressors in Europe, consequently deprived of all benefit accruing from the defensive reaty fubfifting between them and the States-General of the United Provinces. It being impossible for the English to terminate the war, while their enemies derive the finews of it from their commerce carried on in neutral bottoms, bey are obliged to suppress such collusions, by that neeffity which Grotius himself hath allowed to be a suffiientexcuse for deviating from the letter of any treaty whatoever. In time of peace no Dutch ships were permitted carry the produce of any French sugar island, or even trade in any of the French ports in America or the West-Indies; consequently, the treaty which they quote an never justify them in carrying on a commerce, which, sit did not exist, and wasnot foreseen, could not possibly guarded against when that convention was ratified. protius, whoseauthority is held in such veneration among be Dutch, has determined that every nation has a right ofeife and confiscate the goods of any neutral power, which shall attempt to carry them into any place which is locked up by that nation, either by land or fea. rench islands in the West-Indies were so blocked p by the English cruisers, that they could receive no relief

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BOOK relief from their own government, confequently no neutral power could attempt to fupply them without falling under this predicament\*. It was for these reasons that the King of England declared, by the mouth of Mr. Yorke, his minister plenipotentiary at the Hague, in a conference heldin the month of August with the deputies of the States-General, that though he was ready to concur in every measure that should be proposed for giving satisfaction to their High Mightinesses, with whom he had always studied to live in the most perfect union, he was nevertheless determined not to fuffer the trade of the French colonies in America to be carried on by the subjects of other powers, under the specious pretext of neutrality: nor to permit words to be interpreted as a license to drive a trade with his enemies, which, though not particularly specified in the articles of contraband, was nevertheless rendered such in all respects, and in every sense, by the nature of the circumstances. It is not at all more surprising that the Dutch merchants should complain, than that the English government should persist in confiscating the ships that were found to contain the merchandise of their enemies. The individual traders of every mercantile nation will run confiderable riques in extending their particular commerce, even when they know it must be detrimental to the general interest of their country. In the war maintained by the confederates against Louis XIV. of France, the merchants ships of the Dutch carried on an uninterrupted trade to the French ports; and, notwithstanding the repeated **follicitations** 

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<sup>\*</sup> In the reign of King William, when the English and Dutch were engaged in a war against France, the northern powers of Sweden and Denmark aftempted to carry on the French commerce, under the shade of neutrality; but the Dutch and Eng'ish joined in seising the vessels that were thus employed. Complaints of these captures were made at London and the Hague, and the complainants were given to understand at both places, that they should not be allowed to carry on any trade with France, but what was usual in time of peace. In consequence of this declaration, Mr. Groning formed the delign of writing a treatise on the freedom of navigation, and communicated the plan of his work to the celebrated Puffendorf, who fignified his fentiments in a letter, which is preserved by the learned Barbeyrac, in his notes upon that 18thor's treatife on the law of nature and nations.

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follicitations of England, the States-General could never be prevailed upon to prohibit this commerce, which undoubtedly enabled France to protract the war. The truth is, they gave the British ministry to understand, that unless they connived at this traffick, their fubjects could not possibly defray their proportion of the expense at which the war was maintained. It is well known through all Europe, that the subjects of the United Provinces reaped confiderable advantage, not only from this branch of illicit trade, but also by providing for both armies in Flanders, and by the practice of stock-jobbing in England; consequently, it was not the interest, either of the States-General, or the English general, between whom there was a very good understanding, to bring that war to a speedy conclusion; nor, indeed, ought we to fix the imputation of partiality upon a whole nation, for the private conduct of individuals, influenced by motives of felfinterest, which operate with the same energy in Holland, and among the subjects of Great-Britain. In the course of the former war, fuch a scandalous appetite for gain prevailed in different parts of the British dominions, that the French islands were actually supplied with provisions, flaves, and lumber from Ireland and the British colonies in North America; and Martinique, in particular, must have furrendered to the commander of the English squadron stationed in those seas, had it not been thus supported by English subjects. Certain it is, the Dutch had some reason to complain that they were decoyed into this species of traffick by the article of a treaty, which, in their opinion, admitted of no limitation; and that the government of Great-Britain, without any previous warning of explaining its fentiments on this subject, swept the sea at once of all the vessels employed in this commerce, and condemned them, without mitigation, to the entire ruin of many thousand families. Considering the intimate connexion of mutual interest subsisting between Great-Britain and the States of the United Provinces, they feem, to have had some right to an intimation of this nature, VOL. IV. Bb which,

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which, in all probability, would have induced them to refign all prospect of advantage from the prosecution of such a traffick.

6 XLIX. Besides the universal clamour excited in Holland, and the famous memorial prefented to the States-General, which we have already mentioned in another place, a deputation of merchants waited four times fuccessively on the Princess Regent, to explain their grievances, and demand her concurrence in augmenting the navy for the preservation of their commerce. She promised to interpose her best offices with the court of Great-Britain; and these co-operating with representations made by the States-General, the English minister was empowered to open conferences at the Hague, in order to bring all matters in dispute to an amicable accommodation. These endeavours, however, proved ineffectual. British cruisers continued to take, and the British courts to condemn, all Dutch veffels containing the produce of the French fugar islands. The merchants of Holland and Zealand renewed their complaints with redoubled clamour, and all the trading part of the nation, re-enforced by the whole party that opposed the House of Orange, cried aloud for an immediate augmentation of the marine, and reprifals upon the pirates of England. The Princels, in order to avoid extremities, was obliged not only to employall her personal influence with the States-General, but also to play off one faction against another, in the way of remonstrance and exclamation. As far back as the month of June, the prefented a memorial to the States-General, reminding them, that in the beginning of the war between France and England she had advised an augmentation should be made in their land forces, to strengthen the garrisons of the frontier towns, and cover the territories of the republick from invasion. She gave them to undestand, that the provinces of Gueldres and Overyssel, intimidated by the proximity of two formidable armies, had refolved to demand that the augmentation of their land-forces should be taken into confideration by the other provinces; and requested

requeste meafure faid, The fenfible publick, the Rhi conditio ritories that cafe enemy w the hear other eff each par fourth c beheld th concern butthat gau, Rot owing, t not now wards re theyrepr and the each oth preffing ! innumer a fleet a days afte an affemi Mightine to induce and Wes tation of fuccess, t expedien

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requested her to re-enforce their follicitations that this measure might immediately take place. This request, she faid, she the more readily granted, as she could not but be fensible of the imminent danger that threatened the republick, especially since the Hanoverian army had passed the Rhine; and as it behoved the state to put itself in a condition to hinder either army from retiring into the territories of the republick, if it should be defeated; for, in that case, the conqueror being authorised to pursue his enemy wherever he can find him, would bring the war into the heart of their country. This representation had no other effect than that of suspending the measure which each party proposed. The Princess, in her answer to the fourth deputation of the merchants, declared that she beheld the prefent state of their trade with the most anxious concern; that its want of protection was not her fault, but that of the towns of Dort, Haerlem, Amsterdam, Torgau, Rotterdam, and the Brille, to whose conduct it was owing, that the forces of the state, by fea and land, were not now on a better footing. The deputies were afterwards referred to her minister, M. de la Larrey, to whom they represented, that the augmentation of the land-forces, and the equipment of a fleet, were matters as distinct from each other as light from darkness: that there was no pressing motive for an augmentation of the army, whereas, innumerable reasonable reasons rendered the equipment of affect a matter of the most urgent necessity. In a few days after this representation was made, the Princess, in an affembly of the States-General, requested their High Mightinesses, that seeing their earnest and repeated efforts to induce the provinces of Holland, Zealand, Friesland, and West-Friesland to acquiesce in the proposed augmentation of forces by fea and land had not hitherto met with fuccess, they would now consider and deliberate upon some expedient for terminating this affair, and the sooner the better, in order, on one hand, to fatisfy the strong and wellgrounded instances made by the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen; and, on the other, B O O K III.

to comply with the ardent just defires expressed by the commercial inhabitants of the country. She told them that the deputation which waited on her confifted of forty merchants, a number that merited attention no lefs than the speech they pronounced, of which a great number of printed copies were distributed through all parts of the country. Without making any particular remarks on the harangue, she only observed, that the drift of it did not tend to facilitate the negociation begun with Great-Britain, nor to induce the nation to prefer a convention to a rupture with that crown. From this circumstance she inferred, it was more than time to finish the deliberations on the propofal for augmenting the forces both by fea and land; a measure, without which she was convinced in her conscience the state was, and would always remain exposed to all forts of misfortune and danger, both now and hereafter.

§ L. In consequence of this interposition, the States-General that fame day fent a letter to the states of Holland and West-Friesland, communicating the sentiments of the Princess Regent, and infisting upon the necessity of complying with her propofal of the double augmentation. They observed, that an augmentation of the land-forces, for the defence of the frontiers, was unavoidable, as well as an equipment by sea for the security of commerce: that the states of the provinces of Gueldres, Utrecht, Overyssel, and Groningen joined with them in the same opinion; and accordingly had infifted, by divers letters and propositions, on those two points so essential to the publick interest. They represented the danger of delay, and the fatal effects of discord: they proposed, that by a reciprocal indulgence one party should comply with the fentiments of the other, in order to avoid a schism and dangerous division among the confederates, the consequences of which would be very deplorable; while the republick, in the mean time, would remain in a defenceless condition, both by fea and land, and depend upon the arbitrary power of its neighbours. They conjured them, therefore, as they valued

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valued the fafety of their country, and all that was dear to them, as they regarded the protection of the good inhabitants, the concord and harmony which at all times, but especially at the present critical juncture, was of the last necessity, that they would seriously reslect upon the exhortation of her royal highness, as well as on the repeated instances of the majority of the confederates; and take a wife and falutary refolution with regard to the propofed augmentation of the land-forces, fo that this addition, together with an equipment at fea, might, the fooner the better, be unanimously brought to a conclusion. It was undoubtedly the duty of all who wished well to their country to moderate the heat and precipitation of those, who, provoked by their losses, and stimulated by refentment, endeavoured at this period to involve their nation in a war with Great-Britain. Had matters been pushed to this extremity, in a few months the republick would, in all probability, have been brought to the brink of ruin. The Dutch were diffracted by internal divisions; they were altogether unprovided for hostilities by sea; the ocean was covered with their trading veffels; and the naval armaments of Great-Britain were so numerous and powerful as to render all resistance on that element equally vain and pernicious. The English could not only have scoured the seas, and made prize of all their shipping, but were also in a condition to reduce or demolish all their towns in Zealand, where they would hardly have met with any opposition.

CHAP. X.

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§ 1. Domestick occurrences in Great-Britain. §. II. Tryals of Drs. Hensey and Shebbeare. § III. Institution of the Magdalen and Asylum. § IV. Society for the encouragement of arts. § V. Seffion opened. § VI. New treaty with the King of Prussia. § VII. Supplies granted. § VIII. King's message to the Commons. § IX. Bills relating to the di-Hillery, and the exportation of corn. & X. Petition from the justices of Norfolk. § XI. Bill for the importation of falted beef from Ireland continued. § XII. Regulations with respect to privateers. § XIII. New militia laws. § XIV. Act for the relief of debtors revived. § XV. Bills for the importation of Irish beef and tallow. § XVI. Att relative to Milford-haven. § XVII. Bill relative to the duty on pensions. § XVIII. Act relative to the duty on plate. § XIX. Cambrick act. § XX. Unfuccessful bills. § XXI. Cafe of the infolvent debtors. § XXII. Cafe of Captain Walker. § XXIII. Remarks on the bankrupt laws. § XXIV. Enquiry into the state of the poor. § XXV. Regulations of weights and measures. § XXVI. Resolutions concerning the Foundling-hospital. § XXVII. Messages from the King to the parliament. § XXVIII. Seffian closed. § XXIX. Preparations for war. § XXX. Death of the Princess of Orange and Princess Elizabeth Caroline. § XXXI. Examples made of pirates. § XXXII. Accounts of Some remarkable murthers. § XXXIII. Murther of Daniel Clarke. § XXXIV. Majority of the Prince of Wales. § XXXV. Resolutions concerning a new bridge at Black-friars. § XXXVI. Fire in Cornhill. § XXXVII. Method contrived to find out the longitude. § XXXVIII. Installation at Oxford. § XXXIX. Deplorable incident at sea. § XL. Captures made by Separate cruisers. § XLI. Captain Hood takes the Bellona. § XLII. And Capt. Barrington the Count de St. Florentin. § XLIII. Captain Falkner takes o French

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French East-Indiaman. § XLIV. Prizes taken in the West-Indies. § XLV. Engagement between the Hercules and the Florissant. § XLVI. Havre-de-Grace bombarded by Adm. Rodney. § XLVII. Adm. Boscawen defeats M. de la Clue. & XLVIII. Preparations made by the French for invading England. § XLIX. Account of Thurst. § L. French fleet fails from Breft. § LI. Adm. Hawke defeats M. de Conflans: § LII. Proceedings of the Irish parliament. § LIII. Loyalty of the Irish catholicks. § LIV. Dangerous insurrection in Dublin. § LV. Alarm of a descent in Scotland.

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§ I. TATHILE the operations of the war were profe- CHAP. cuted through the four quarters of the globe, the island of Great-Britain, which may be termed the centre that gave motion to this vast machine, enjoyed all the tranquillity of the most profound peace, and faw nothing of war but the preparations and trophies, which served only to animate the nation to a desire of further conquest; for the dejection occasioned by the misfortuneat St. Cas foon vanished before the prospect of victory and fuccess. Considering the agitation naturally produced among the common people by the practice of preffing men into the service of the navy, which in the beginning of the year had been carried on with unufual violence, the levy of fo many new corps of foldiers, and the endeavours used in forming the national militia, very few diffurbances happened to interrupt the internal repose of the nation. From private acts of malice, fraud, violence, and rapine no community whatfoever is exempted. In the month of April, the temporary wooden-bridge over the Thames, built for the conveniency of carriages and passengers, while the workmen should be employed in widening and repairing London-Bridge, was maliciously set on fire in the night, and continued burning till noon next day, when the ruins of it fell into the river. The destruction of this conveniency proved very detrimental to the commerce of the city, notwithstanding the vigilancy and discretion of the B b 4 magistrates,

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magistrates, in applying remedies for this misfortune. A promise of the King's pardon was offered in a publick advertisement, by the secretary of state, and a reward of two hundred pounds by the city of London to any person who thould discover the perpetrator of such wicked outrage: but nevertheless he escaped detection. No individual, nor any fociety of men, could have the least interest in the execution of fuch a scheme, except the body of London watermen; but as no discovery was made to the prejudice of any person belonging to that society, the deed was imputed to the malice of some secret enemy to the publick. Even after a new temporary bridge was erected, another attempt was made (in all probability by the fame incendiary) to reduce the whole to ashes, but happily miscarried, and a guard was appointed, to prevent any fuch atrocious efforts in the fequel. Dangerous tumults were raifed in and about Manchester, by a prodigious number of manufacturers, who had left off working, and entered into a combination to raise, by force, the price of their labour. They had formed a regular plan, and collecting large fums for the maintenance of the poorer fort, while they refused to work for their families. They infulted and abused all those who would not join in this defection; dispersed incendiary letters, and denounced terrible threats against all fuch as should presume to oppose their proceedings. But these menaces had no effect upon the magistrates and justices, who did their duty with such discretion and courage, that the ringleaders being fingled out, and punished by law, the rest were soon reduced to order.

§ II. In the month of June, Florence Hensey, an obscure physician, and native of Ireland, who had been apprehended for treasonable practices, was tried in the court of King's-Bench, on an indictment for high treason. In the course of the trial it appeared that he had been employed as a spy for the French ministry; to which, in consideration of a paltry pension, he sent intelligence of every material occurrence in Great-Britain. The correspondence was managed by his brother, a Jesuit, who

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CHAP. afted as chaplain and fecretary to the Spanish ambaffadour at the Hague. The British resident at that court having learned from the Spanish minister some secrets relating to England, even before they were communicated to him from the English ministry, was induced to set on foot an enquiry touching the fource of this information, and foon received an affurance, that the fecretary of the Spanish ambaffadour had a brother, a physician, in London. The suspicion naturally arising from this circumstance being imparted to the ministry of England, Hensey was narrowly watched, and twenty-nine of his letters were intercepted. From the contents of these he was convicted of having given the French court the first notice of the expedition to North-America, the capture of the two ships. the Alcide and Lys, the failing and destination of every squadron and armament, and the difficulties that occurred in raising money for the service of the publick. even informed them that the fecret expedition of the foregoing year was intended against Rochesort, and advised a descent upon Great-Britain, at a certain time and place. as the most effectual method of distressing the government, and affecting the publick credit. After a long trial he was found guilty of treason, and received the sentence of death usually pronounced on such occasions: but whether he earned forgiveness by some material discovery, or the minister found him so insensible and insignificant that he was ashamed to take his life, he escaped execution, and was pardoned, on condition of going into perpetual exile. The feverity of the government was much about the fame period exercised on Dr. Shebbeare, a publick writer, who, in a feries of printed letters to the people of England, had animadverted on the conduct of the ministry in the most acrimonious terms, stigmatised some great names with all the virulence of censure, and even affaulted the throne itself with oblique infinuation and ironical latire. The ministry, incensed at the boldness, and still more enraged at the fuccess of this author, whose writings were bought with avidity by the publick, determined to punish

B O O K HI. punish him severely for his arrogance and abuse, and he was apprehended by a warrant from the secretary's office. His fixth letter to the people of England was pitched upon as the foundation of a prosecution. After a short trial in the court of King's-Bench, he was found guilty of having written the fixth letter to the people of England, adjudged a libellous pamphlet, sentenced to stand in the pillory, to pay a small sine, to be imprisoned three years, and give security for his suture good behaviour: so that, in effect, this good man suffered more for having given vent to the unguarded effusions of mistaken zeal, couched in the language of passion and scurrility, than was inflicted upon Hensey, a convicted traitor, who had acted as a spy for France, and betrayed his own country for hire.

§ III. Amidst a variety of crimes and disorders, arising from impetuolity of temper, unreined passion, luxury, extravagance, and an almost total want of police and subordination, the virtues of benevolence are always fpringing up to an extraordinary growth in the British foil; and here charities are often established by the humanity of individuals, which in any other country would be honoured as national inftitutions: witness the great number of holpitals and infirmaries in London and Westminster, erected and maintained by voluntary contributions, or raised by the princely donations of private founders. In the course of this year the publick began to enjoy the benefit of feveral admirable institutions. Mr. Henry Raine, a private gentleman of Middlesex, had, in his life-time, built and endowed an hospital for the maintenance of forty poor maidens. By his will he bequeathed a certain fum of money to accumulate at interest, under the management of trustees, until the yearly produce should amount to two hundred and ten pounds, to be given in marriage-portions to two of the maidens educated in his hospital, at the age of twenty-two, who should be the best recommended for piety and industry by the masters or mistresses whom they had served. In the month of March, the sum destined for this laudable purpose was completed; when the trustees, by

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ees, by by publick advertisement, summoned the maidenseducated CHAP in the hospital to appear on a certain day, with proper certificates of their behaviour and circumstances, that fix of the most deserving might be selected to draw lots for the orize of one hundred pounds, to be paid as her marriage portion, provided the married a man of an unblemished character, a member of the church of England, refiding within certain specified parishes, and approved by the truftees. Accordingly, on the first of May the candidates appeared, and the prize being gained by one young woman, in presence of a numerous assembly of all ranks, attracted by curiofity, the other five maidens, with a fixth, added in lieu of her who had been fuccefsful, were marked for a fecond chance on the fame day of the following year, when a fecond prize of the fame value would be prefented: thus a new candidate will be added every year, that every maiden who has been educated in this hospital, and preferved her character without reproach, may have a chance for the noble donation, which is also accompanied with the fum of five pounds to defray the expense of the wedding entertainment. One scarce knows whether most to admire the plan, or commend the humanity of this excellent institution. Of equal and perhaps superior merit was another charitable establishment, which also took effect about this period. A finall number of humane individuals, chiefly citizens of London, deeply affected with the situation of common prostitutes, who are certainly the most forlorn of all human creatures, formed a generous resolution in their favour, such as even the best men of the kingdom had never before the courage to avow. They confidered that many of these unhappy creatures, so wretched in themselves, and so productive of mischief to lociety, had been feduced to vice in their tender years by the perfidious artifice of the other fex, or the violence of unruly passion, before they had acquired experience to guard against the one, or forefight to perceive the fatal confequences of the other: that the jewel, reputation, being thus irretrievably lost, perhaps in one unguarded

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moment, they were covered with shame and difgrace, abandoned by their families, excluded from all pity, regard, and affiftance: that, flung by felf-conviction, infulted with reproach, denied the privilege of penitence and contrition, cut off from all hope, impelled by indigence, and maddened with despair, they had plunged into a life of infamy, in which they were exposed to deplorable viciffitudes of mifery, and the most excruciating pangs of reflexion that any human being could fustain: that, whateverremorfethey might feel, howfoeverthey might deteft their own vice, or long for an opportunity of amendment, they were entirely destitute of all means of reformation: they were not only deprived of all possibility of profiting by those precious moments of repentance, and becoming again useful members of society; but, in order to earn a miserable subsistence, were obliged to persevere in the paths of prostitution, and act as theinstruments of heaven's vengeance in propagating diftemper and profligacy, in ruining the bodies and debauching the minds of their fellow-creatures. Moved to fympathy and compassion by these confiderations, this virtuous band of affociates determined to provide a comfortable afylum for female penitents, to which they might fly for shelter from the receptacles of vice, the miferies of life, and the fcorn of mankind; where they might indulge the falutary fentiments of remorfe, make their peace with heaven, accustom themselves to industry and temperance, and be profitably reunited to society, from which they had been fo unhappily differered. The plan of this excellent institution being formed, was put in execution by means of voluntary fubscription, and the house opened in Goodman's-fields, under the name of the Magdalen-hospital, in the month of August; when fifty petitions were presented by penitent prostitutes, solliciting admittance. Another afylum was also opened by the hand of private charity, on the Surrey-fide of Westminfter-bridge, for the reception and education of female orphans, and children abandoned by their parents.

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§ IV. Nor was encouragement refused to those who diffinguished themselves by extraordinary talents in any branch of the liberal and useful arts and sciences, though no Mæcenas appeared among the ministers, and not the least ray of patronage glimmered from the throne. The protection, countenance, and gratification secured in other countries by the inftitution of academies, and the liberalities of princes, the ingenious in England derived from the generofity of a publick, endued with tafte and fenfibility. eager for improvement, and proud of patronizing extra-Several years had already elapfed ordinary merit. fince a fociety of private persons was instituted at London, for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce. It confifted of a prefident, vice-prefident, fecretary, register, collector, and other officers, elected from a very confiderable number of members, who pay a certain yearly contribution for the purposes of the institution. In the course of every year they held eight general meetings in a large affembly-room, built and furnished at the common expense; besides the ordinary meetings of the society, held every week, from the fecond Wednesday in November to the last Wednesday in May; and, in the intermediate time, on the first and third Wednesday of every month. At these ordinary meetings, provided the number then present exceeded ten, the members had a right to proceed on business, and power to appoint such committees as they should think necessary. The money contributed by this affociation, after the necessary expence of the fociety had been deducted, was expended in premiums for planting and hufbandry; for difcoveries and improvements in chemistry, dying, and mineralogy; for promoting the ingenious arts of drawing, engraving, casting, painting, fatuary, and sculpture; for the improvement of manufactures and machines in the various articles of hats, crapes, druggets, mills, marbled-paper, ship-blocks, spinning-wheels, toys, yarn, knitting, and weaving. kewise allotted sums for the advantage of the British colonies in America, and bestowed premiums on those settlers

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BOOK who should excel in curing cochineal, planting logwood. trees, cultivating olive-trees, producing myrtle-wax. making pot-ash, preserving raisins, curing safflour, making filk and wines, importing flurgeon, preparing ifinglafs, planting hemp and cinnamon, extracting opium and the gum of the persimon-tree, collecting stones of the mango, which should be found to vegetate in the West-Indies; raising filk-grass, and laying out provincial gardens. They, moreover, allowed a gold medal, in honour of him who should compose the best treatise on the arts of peace, containing an historical account of the progressive improvements of agriculture, manufactures, and commerce in the kingdom of England, with the effects of those improvements on the morals and manners of the people, and pointing out the most proper means for their future advancement. In a word, the fociety is fo numerous, the contributions so considerable, the plan so judiciously laid, and executed with fuch discretion and spirit, as to promise much more effectual and extensive advantage to the publick than ever accrued from all the boafted academies of Christendom. The artists of London had long maintained a private academy for improvement in the art of drawing from living figures; but, in order to extend this advantage, which was not attained without difficulty and expense, the Duke of Richmond, a young nobleman of the most amiable character, provided a large apartment at Whitehall, for the use of those who studied the arts of painting, sculpture, and engraving; and furnished it with a collection of original plaister casts from the best antique statues and busts at Rome and Florence. Here any learner had liberty to draw, or make models, under the eye and instructions of two eminent artists; and twice a year the munificent founder bestowed premiums of filver medals on the four pupils who excelled the rest in drawing from a certain figure, and making the best model of it in bassorelievo\*.

§ V. Houses

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" You wil that a disc infured by The duk ared at the fore him, fily known.

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<sup>\*</sup> Among other transactions that distinguish the history of Great-Britain, scarce a year glides away without producing some incident that strongly marks

§ V. On the twenty-third day of November both C H A P. Houses of parliament met at Westminster, when his Majesty 1758.

the fingular character of the English nation. A very extraordinary instance of this nature, relating to the late Duke of Marlborough, we shall record among the events of this year, although it derived its origin from the latter end of the 1st, and cannot be properly enumerated among those occurrences that appernin to general history. Towards the end of November, in the preceding 1st, the above-mentioned nobleman received, by the post, a letter directed 1To his Grace the Duke of Marlborough, with care and speed," and connining this address:

"MY LORD,

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"AS ceremony is an idle thing upon most occasions, more especially to perms in my flate of mind, I shall proceed immediately to acquaint you with the polive and end of addressing this epille to you, which is equally interesting to both. You are to know then, that my present situation in life is such, at I should prefer annihilation to a continuance in it. Desperate diseases quire desperate remedies; and you are the man I have pitched upon, either make me or unmake yourfelf. As I never had the honour to live among regreat, the tenour of my proposals will not be very courtly; but let that be argument to enforce a belief of what I am now going to write. It has emloyed my invention for some time to find out a method of destroying another shout exposing my own life; that I have accomplished, and defy the law. low, for the application of it. I am desperate, and must be provided for. on have it in your power; it is my business to make it your inclination to weme, which you must determine to comply with, by procuring me a genal support for my life, or your own will be at a period before this session of liament is over. I have more motives than one for fingling you out upon accasion; and I give you this fair warning, because the means I shall make tof are too fatal to be eluded by the power of phyfick. If you think this any consequence, you will not fail to meet the author on Sunday next, at n in the morning, or on Monday (if the weather should be rainy on Sunday) w the first tree beyond the stile in Hyde-Park, in the foot-walk to Kengion. Secrefy and compliance may preferve you from a double danger of is fort, as there is a certain part of the world where your death has more ha been wished for upon other motives. I know the world too well to of this secret in any breast but my own. A few days determine me your end or enemy.

"You will apprehend that I mean you should be alone, and depend upon that a discovery of any artifice in this affair will be satal to you. My safety insured by my silence, for confession only can condemn me."

The duke, in compliance with this strange remonstrance, apared at the time and place appointed, on horseback and alone, with pistols fore him, and the star of his order displayed, that he might be the more sily known. He had likewise taken the precaution of engaging a friend to that in the Park, at such a distance, however, as scarce to be observable.

B O O K III. Majesty being indisposed, the session was opened by commission, and the Lord-keeper harangued them to this

He continued some time on the spot without seeing any person he could suspect of having wrote the letter, and then rode away; but chancing to turn his head when he reached Hyde-Park corner, he perceived a man standing at the bridge, and looking at the water, within twenty yards of the tree which was described in the letter. He forthwith rode back at a gentle pace, and passing by the person expected to be addressed, but as no advance of this kind was made, he, in repassing, bo wed to the stranger, and asked if he had not something to communicate. The man replying, "No, I don't know you;" the Duke told him his name, adding, "Now you know me, I imagine you have something to say to me." But he still answered in the negative, and the Duke rode home. In a day or two after this transaction another letter was brought to him, couched in the following terms:

" My LORD,

"YOU receive this as an acknowledgement of your punctuality as to the time and place of meeting on Sunday lath, though it was owing to you it and fwered no purpose. The pageantry of being armed, and the ensign of your order, were useless, and too conspicuous. You needed no attendant, the place was not calculated for mischief, nor was any intended. If you walk in the west aisle of Westminster-Abbey, towards eleven o'clock on Sunday next, your sagacity will point out the person whom you will address, by asking his company to take a turn or two with you. You will not fail, on enquiry, to be acquainted with the name and place of abode. According to which direction you will please to send two or three hundred pounds bask-notes the next day by the penny-post. Exert not your curiosity too early; it is in your power to make me grateful on certain terms. I have friends who are faithful, but they do not bark before they bite.

I am, &c. "F."

The duke, determined, if possible, to unveil this mystery, repaired to the Abbey at the time prescribed, and, after having walked up and down for five or fix minutes, saw the very same person to whom he had spoke in Hyde-Park enter the Abbey, with another man of a creditable appearance. This last, after they had viewed some of the monuments, went into the choir, and the other turning back, advanced towards the duke, who accosting him, asked if he had any thing to say to him, or any commands for him? He replied, "No, my lard, shave not."—" Sure you have," said the duke, but he persisted in his denial. Then the duke leaving him, took several turns in the aisse, while the stranger walked on the other side. But nothing surther passed between them, and although the duke had provided several persons in disguise to apprehend the delinquent, he forbore giving the signal, that, not with standing appearances, he might run no risque of injuring an innocent person. Not long after this second disappointment he received a third letter, to the following effect:

" My Lord,

I AM fully convinced you had a companion on Sunday: I interpret it as owing to the weakness of human nature, but such proceeding is far from being ingenuous effect.
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ingenuous, end propose easily find wait on yo you will liversation si your fafet y pose me) wonth that continue you. You the outside tinct, thou The exp

plainly point Abbey; ne of the affa the followi "May it p "I Hav Abingdon-l concern you opportunity

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narkable, a nan, be fur nade him a e ought to effect. He told them, his Majesty had directed the lords of the commission to assure his parliament that he always Vol. IV. C c received



ingenuous, and may produce bad effects, whilst it is impossible to answer the end proposed. You will see me again soon, as it were by accident, and may take the second proposed. You will see me again soon, as it were by accident, and may take the second proposed to be quite alone, and to converse in whispers a you will likewise give your honour, upon meeting, that no part of the conversation shall transpire. These and the former terms complied with ensure your fastety: my revenge, in case of non-compliance (or any scheme to expose me) will be slower, but not the less sure; and strong suspicion the utmost that can possibly ensue upon it, while the chances would be tenfold against you. You will possibly be in doubt after the meeting, but it is quite necessary through they are not in my scheme."

The expression, "you will see me again soon, as it were by accident," plainly pointed at the person to whom he had spoke in the Park, and in the Abbey; nevertheless, he saw him not again, nor did he hear any thing further of the affair for two months, at the expiration of which the post brought him the following letter:

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"I Have reason to believe that the son of one Barnard, a surveyor, in Abingdon-buildings, Westminster, is acquainted with some secrets that nearly concern your safety: his sather is now out of town, which will give you an opportunity of questioning him more privately: it would be useless to your sace, as well as dangerous to me, to appear more publickly in this affair.

" Your fincere friend,

" ANONYMOUS.

" He frequently goes to Storey's-Gate coffee-house." In about a week after this intimation was received, the Duke fent a person othe coffee house, to enquire for Mr. Barnard, and tell him he would be glad to tak to him. The message was delivered, and Barnard declared he would wait men his grace next Thursday, at half an hour after ten in the morning. He was punctual to his appointment, and no sooner appeared than the Duke recogiled him to be the person to whom he had spoke in the Park and the Abbey. living conducted him into an apartment, and shut the door, he asked, as before, he had any thing to communicate; and was answered, as formerly, in henegative. Then the Duke repeated every circumstance of this strange transdion; to which Barnard littened with attention and furprife, yet without exhiing any marks of conscious guilt or consusion. The Duke observing that was matter of astonishment to see letters of such import written with the cortoness of a scholar, the other replied, that a man might be very poor and very arned at the same time. When he saw the sourth letter, in which his name " mentioned, with the circumstance of his father's absence, he said, " It very odd, my father was then out of town." An expression the more rearkable, as the letter was without date, and he could not, as an innocent an, be supposed to know at what time it was written. The Duke having lade him acquainted with the particulars, told him, that if he was innocent tought to use his endeavours to detect the writer of the letters, especially of 1758.

BOOK received the highest satisfaction in being able to lay before them any events that might promote the honour and in-

> the last, in which he was expressly named. To this admonition he returned no other answer but a smile, and then withdrew. He was afterwards taken into cultody, and tried at the Old-Bailey, for fending a threatening letter, contrary to the flatute ; but no evidence could be found to prove the letters were of his hand writing; nor did any prefumption appear against him, except his being in Hyde-Park, and in Westminster-Abbey, at the time and place appointed in the two first letters. On the other hand, Mr. Barnard proved, that on the Sunday, when he faw the Duke in Hyde-Park, he was on his way to Kenfington, on particular bufiness, by his father's order, fignified to him that very morning; that he accordingly went thither, and dined with his uncle, in company with feveral other persons, to whom he related what had passed between the Duke of Marlborough and him in the Park; that his being afterwards in Westminster-Abbey was the effect of mere accident: that Mr. James Greenwood, his kinsman, who had lain the preceding night at his father's house, defired him to dress himself, that they might walk together in the Park; and he did not comply with his request till after much sollicitation: that he proposed to enter the Park without passing through the Abbey, but was prevailed upon by Mr. Greenwood, who expressed a defire of feeing the newly-erected monument of General Hargrave: that as he had formerly communicated to his friend the strange circumstance of the Duke's fpeaking to him in Hyde-Park, Mr. Greenwood no fooner faw that nobleman in the Abbey, than he gave notice to Mr. Barnard, who was very short-lighted: and that, from his passing them several times, concluding he wanted to fpeak with Mr. Barnard alone, he quitted him, and retired into the choir, that they might commune together without interruption. It like wife appeared from undoubted evidence, that Barnard had often mentioned openly, to his friends and acquaintance, the circumstances of what passed between him and the Duke in the Park and in the Abbey: that his father was a man of unblemished reputation, and in affluent circumstances : that he himself was never reduced to any want, or such exigence as might impel him to any desperate methods of obtaining money; that his fidelity had been often tried, and his life always irreproachable. For these reasons he was acquitted of the crime laid to his charge, and the mystery remains to this day undiscovered.

After all, the author of the letters does not feem to have had any real defign to extort money, because the scheme was very ill calculated for that purpose and, indeed, could not possibly take effect, without the most imminent risque of detection. Perhaps his aim was nothing more than to gratify a petulance and peculiarity of humour, by alarming the Duke, exciting the curiofity of the publick, puzzling the multitude, and giving rife to a thousand ridiculous conjectures. If any thing more was intended, and the Duke earnestly defired to know the extent of the scheme, he might, when he closeted the person sul pected, have encouraged him to a declaration, by promifing inviolable fecret on his word and honour, in which any man would have confided as a factor obligation. On the whole, it is furprifing that the death of the Duke, which happened in the course of this year, was never attributed to the secret prac

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CHAP.

terest of his kingdoms: that, in consequence of their advice, and enabled by the affiftance which they unanimously gave, his Majesty had exerted his endeavours to carry on the war in the most vigorous manner, in order to attain that defireable end, always to be wished, a safe and honourable peace\*: that it had pleafed the Divine Providence to bless his measures and arms with success in several parts, and to make the enemies of the nation feel that the strength of Great-Britain is not to be provoked with impunity: that the conquest of the strong fortress of Louisbourg, with the islands of Cape-Breton and St. John; the demolition of Frontenac, of the highest importance to his operations in America, and the reduction of Senegal, could not fail to bring great diffress on the French commerce and colonies, and, in proportion, to procure great advantage to those of Great-Britain. He observed, that France had also been made fensible, that whilst her forces are fent forth to invade and ravage the dominions of her neighbours, her own coasts are not inaccessible to his Majefty's fleets and armies: a truth which she had experienced in the demolition of the works at Cherbourg, erected at a great expence, with a particular view to annoy England, as well as in the lofs of a great number of ships and vessels; but no treatment, however injurious to his Majesty, could tempt him to make retaliation on the innocent subjects of that crown. He told them, that in Germany his Majesty's good brother, the King of Prussia, and Prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, had found full employment for the armies of France and her confederates, from which the English operations, both by sea and in America, had derived the most evident advantage; their fucceffes, owing, under God, to their able conduct, and the bravery of his Majesty's troops, and those of his

tices of this incendiary correspondent, who had given him to understand, that his vengeance, though slow, would not be the less certain.

<sup>\*</sup> In the month of August, the King, in quality of Elector of Hanover, having occasion for two hundred thousand pounds, a Ioan by subscription for that sum was opened at the Bank, and filled immediately by seven or eight money-dealers of London.

B O O K III. allies, having been fignal and glorious. The King, moreover, commanded them to declare, that the common cause of liberty and independency was still making noble and glorious efforts against the unnatural union formed to oppress it: that the commerce of his subjects, the source of national riches, had, by the vigilant protection received from his Majesty's fleet, flourished in a manner not to be paralleled during fuch troubles. In this state of things, he faid, the King, in his wisdom, thought it unnecessary to use many words to persuade them to bear up against all difficulties, effectually to stand by and defend his Maiesty, vigorously to support the King of Prussia, and the rest of his Majesty's allies, and to exert themselves to reduce their enemies to equitable terms of accommodation. He observed to the House of Commons, that the uncommon extent of this war, in different parts, occasioned it to be uncommonly expensive: that the King had ordered them to declare to the Commons, that he fincerely lamented, and deeply felt for the burthens of his people: that the feveral estimates were ordered to be laid before them; and that he defired only fuch supplies as should be requifite to push the war with advantage, and be adequate to the necessary services. In the last place, he assured them the King took so much satisfaction in that good harmony which subsisted among his faithful subjects, that it was more proper for him now to thank them for it, than to repeat his exhortation to it: that this union, necessary at all times, was more especially so in such critical conjunctures; and his Majesty doubted not but the good effects the nation had found from it would be the strongest motives to them to purfueit.—The reader, will, no doubt, be furprifed to find this harangue abound with harfhnefsol period and inelegancy of expression: he will wonder that, in particularifing the fuccesses of the year in America, no mention is made of the reduction of Fort Du Quesne on the river Ohio; a place of great importance, both from its strength and situation, the erection of which had been one great motive to the war between the two nations: but

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he will be still more furprised to hear it declared from the throne, that the operations, both by sea and in America, had derived the most evident advantage from the war in Germany. An affertion the more extraordinary, as the British ministry, in their answer to the Parallel, which we havealready mentioned, had expressly affirmed, that "none but fuch as are unacquainted with the maritime force of England can believe, that without a diversion on the continent, to employ part of the enemy's force, she is not in a condition to hope for success, and maintain her superiority at sea .- That they must be very ignorant, indeed, who imagine that the forces of England are not able to resist those of France, unless the latter be hindered from turning all her efforts to the fea." It is very remarkable, that the British ministry should declare that the war in Germany was favourable to the English operations by sea and in America; and almost in the same breath accuse the French King of having fomented that war. suppose that France had no war to maintain in Europe; and ask in what manner she, in that case, would have opposed the progress of the British arms by sea, and in America? Her navy was reduced to such a condition that it durst not quit her harbours; her merchant-ships were all taken, her mariners confined in England, and the fea was covered with British cruisers: in these circumstances, what expedients could she have contrived for sending supplies and re-enforcements to America, or for opposing the naval armaments of Great-Britain in any other part of the world?—None. Without ships and mariners, her troops, ammunition, and stores were, in this respect, as useless as money to a man ship-wrecked on a desolate island. But, granting that the war in Germany had, in some measure, diverted the attention of the French ministry from the profecution of their operations in America (and this is granting more than ought to be allowed) the question is not, whether the hostilities upon the continent of Europe prevented France from fending a great number of troops to Canada; but whether the war in Germany was either

C H A P. X. 1758.

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BOOK III. 1758.

necessary or expedient for distressing the French more effectually in other parts of the world? Surely every intelligent man of candour must answer in the negative. The expense incurred by England for subsidies and armies in the Empire exceeded three millions sterling annually; and this enormous expense, without being able to protect Hanover, only served to keep the war alive in different parts of Germany. Had one half of this fum been employed in augmenting and extending the naval armaments of Great-Britain, and in re-enforcing her troops in America and the West-Indies, France would have been, at this day, deprived of all her fugar colonies, as well as of her fettlements on the continent of America; and being abfolutely cut off from these sources of wealth, would have found it impracticable either to gratify her subsidiaries, or to maintain fuch formidable armies to annoy her neigh-These are truths, which will appear to the conviction of the publick, when the illusive spells of unsubstantial victory are dissolved, and time shall have dispersed the thick mists of prejudice, which now seem to darken and perplex the understanding of the people.

& VI. The conduct of the administration was so agreeable to both Houses of parliament, that in their address to the throne they expressed their unshaken zeal and loyalty to his Majesty's person, congratulated him on the success of his arms, and promifed to support his measures and It was probably in allies with steadiness and alacrity\*.

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That the charge of disaffection to the king's person, which was so loudly trumpeted by former ministers and their adherents against all those who had honefly and courage to oppole the measures of a weak and corrupt administration, was entirely falfe, and without foundation, appeared at this juncture when in the midth of a cruel, oppressive, and continental war, maintained by the blood and treasure of Great-Britain, all opposition ceased in both House of parliament. The addresses of thanks to his Majesty, which are always dictated by the immediate fervants of the crown, were unanimously adopted in both Houses, and not only couched in terms of applause, but even inflate with expressions of rapture and admiration. They declared themselves sensible that the operations of Great-Britain, both by sea and in America, had to crived the most evident and important advantages from the maintenance the war in Cormany, and feemed eager to espouse any measure that mis gratify the inclinations of the fovereign.

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C H A P. X.

consequence of this affurance that a new treaty between Great-Britain and Pruffia was concluded at London on the feventh day of December, importing, That as the burthensome war in which the King of Prussia is engaged lays him under the necessity of making fresh efforts to defend himself against the multitude of enemies who attack his dominions, he is obliged to take new measures with the King of England, for their reciprocal defence and fafety; and his Britannick Majesty hath, at the same time, fignifiedhisearnest desire to strengthen the friendship subsisting between the two courts, and, in consequence thereof, to conclude a formal convention, for granting to his Prussian Majesty speedy and powerful assistance, their Majesties have nominated and authorised their ministers to concert and fettle the following articles: - All formal treaties between the two crowns, particularly that figned at Westminster on the 16th day of January, in the year 1756, and the convention of the 11th of April, in the year 1758, are confirmed by the present convention of the 11th of April, in the year 1758, in their whole tenor, as if they were herein inserted word for word. King of Great-Britain shall cause to be paid at London, to fuch person or persons as shall be authorised by the King of Prussia for that end, the sum of four millions of rix-dollars, making fix hundred and feventy thousand pounds sterling, at one payment, immediately on the exchange of the ratifications, if the King of Prussia shall fo require. His Prussian Majesty shall employ the said fum in supporting and augmenting his forces, which shall act in fuch manner as shall be of the greatest service to the common cause, and contribute most to the mutual defence and fafety of their faid Majesties. The King of Great-Britain, both as king and elector, and the King of Prussia, reciprocally bind themselves not to conclude with the powers that have taken part in the prefent war any treaty of peace, truce, or other such like convention. but by common advice and confent, each expressly including therein the other. The ratification of the present convention shall be exchanged within fix weeks, or sooner,

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III. 8 1758.

BOOK if possible. In effect, this treaty was no other than a renewal of the fubfidy from year to year, because it was not thought proper to stipulate in the first subsidiary convention an annual supply of such importance until the war should be terminated, lest the people of England should be alarmed at the prospect of such successive burthens, and the complaifance of the Commons be in some future seffion exhausted. On the whole, this was perhaps the most extraordinary treaty that ever was concluded; for it contains no specification of articles, except the payment of the fubfidy: every other article was left to the interpretation of his Prussian Majesty.

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VII. The parliament, having performed the ceremony of addresses to the throne, immediately proceeded to the great work of the supply. The two committees in the House of Commons were immediately established, and continued by adjournments to the month of May, by the twenty-third day of which all their resolutions were taken. They voted fixty thousand men, including fourteen thoufand eight hundred and forty-five marines, for the fervice of the ensuing year; and for the operations by land, a body of troops amounting to fifty-two thousand five hundred and fifty-three effective men, besides the auxiliaries of Hanover, Heffe, Brunswick, Saxe-Gotha, and Buckebourg, to the number of fifty thouland, and five battalions on the Irish establishment, in actual service in America and Africa. For the maintenance of the fixty thousand men employed in the fea-fervice, they granted three millions one hundred and twenty thousand pounds; for the landforces, one million two hundred fifty-fix thousand one hundred and thirty pounds, fifteen shillings, and two-pence; for the charge of the additional five battalions, forty thousand eight hundred and seventy-nine pounds, thirteen shillings, and nine-pence; for the pay of the general and staff-officers, and hospitals of the land-forces, fifty-two thousand four hundred and eighty-four pounds, one shilling, and eight pence; for maintaining the garrifons in the plantations, Gibraltar, Nova-Scotia, Newfoundland, Providence, Cape-Breton, and Senegal, the fum of seven hundred

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hundred and forty-two thousand five hundred and thirty- CHAP. one pounds, five shillings, and seven pence; for the charge of ordnance for land fervice, two hundred and twenty thousand seven hundred and eighty-nine pounds, eleven shillings, and nine pence; for extraordinary service performed by the same office, and not provided for by parliament in the course of the preceding year, three hundred twenty-three thousand nine hundred and eighty-seven pounds, thirteen shillings, and three pence; for the ordinary of the navy, including half-pay to fea officers, two hundred and thirty-eight thousand four hundred and ninety-one pounds, nine shillings, and eight pence; towards the support of Greenwich-hospital, and for the outpensioners of Chelsea-college, the sum of thirty-fix thou-They allotted for one year's expense infand pounds. curred by the foreign troops in the pay of Great-Britain, one million two hundred thirty-eight thousand one hundred and feventy-feven pounds, nineteen shillings, and ten pence, over and above fixty thousand pounds for enabling his Majesty to fulfil his engagements with the Landgrave of Heffe-Caffel, pursuant to the separate article of a new treaty concluded between them in the month of January of this current year, stipulating that this sum should be paid to his serene highness, in order to facilitate the means by which he might again fix his residence in his own dominions, and by his presence give fresh courage to his faithful subjects. Eighty thousand pounds were granted for enabling his Majesty to discharge the like sum, raised in pursuance of an act passed in the preceding session, and charged upon the first aids or supplies to be granted in this fession of parliament. The fum of two hundred thousand pounds was voted towards the building and repairing ships of war for the ensuing year. Fifteen thouland pounds were allowed for improving London-bridge; and forty thousand on account for the Foundling-hospital. For the charge of transports to be employed in the course of the year they affigned fix hundred fixty-feven thouland seven hundred and twenty-one pounds, nineteen shillings,

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## HISTORY OF ENGLAND.

III. 1759.

BOOK shillings, and seven pence: for maintaining the colonies of Nova-Scotia and Georgia they bestowed twenty-five thousand two hundred and thirty-eight pounds, thirteen fhlllings, and five pence. To replace fums taken from the finking fund, thirty-three thousand two hundred and fifty-two pounds, eighteen shillings, and ten pence halfpenny; for maintaining the British forts and settlements on the coast of Africa, ten thousand pounds; and for paying off the mortgage on an estate devised for the endowment of a professorship in the university of Cambridge, the fum of twelve hundred and eighty pounds. For the expense of the militia they voted ninety thousand pounds: for extraordinary expenses relating to the land-forces, incurred in the course of last year, and unprovided for by parliament, the fum of four hundred fixty-fix thousand feven hundred and eighty-five pounds, ten shillings, and five-pence three farthings. For the purchase of certain lands and hereditaments, in order to fecure the King's docks at Portsmouth, Chatham, and Plymouth, they granted thirty-fix thousand nine hundred and fixty-fix pounds, two shillings, and ten pence. They voted two hundred thousand pounds for enabling his Majesty to give proper compensations to the respective provinces in North-America for the expenses they had incurred in levying and maintaining troops for the fervice of the publick. They granted twenty thousand pounds to the East-India company, towards enabling them to defray the expense of a military force in their fettlements; and the fame fum was granted for carrying on the fortifications to fecure the harbour of Milford. To make good feveral fumsiffued by his Majesty, for indemnifying the innholders and victuallersof Hampshireforthe expenses they had incurred in quartering the Hessian auxiliaries in England; for an addition to the lalaries of judges, and other less considerable purposes, theyallowed the fum of twenty-fix thousand one hundred and feventy-eight pounds, fixteen shillings, and fix pence. Finally, they voted one million, upon account, for enabling the King to defray any extraordinary expense of the war, incurred, or

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to be incurred, for the service of the current year; and to CHAP. take all fuch measures as might be necessary to disappoint or defeat any enterprifes or defigns of his enemies, as the exigency of affairs should require. The sum of all the grants voted by the committee of supply amounted to twelve millions feven hundred fixty-one thousand three hundred and ten pounds, nineteen shillings, and five-pence.

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§ VIII. The Commons were still employed in deliberations on ways and means on the twenty-fecond day of May, when Mr. Secretary Pitt communicated to them a message from the King, couched in these terms: "His Majesty, relying on the experienced zeal and affection of his faithful Commons, and confidering that, in this critical conjuncture, emergencies may arife, which may be of the utmest importance, and be attended with the most pernicious consequences, if proper means should not immediately be applied to prevent or defeat them, is defirous that this House will enable him to defray any extraordinary expenses of the war, incurred, or to be incurred, for the service of the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine, and to take all fuch measures as may be neceffary to disappoint or defeat any enterprises or designs of his enemies, and as the exigencies of affairs may require." This meffage being read, a motion was made, and agreed to nem. con. that it should be referred to the committee, who forthwith formed upon it the resolution, whereby one million was granted, to be raifed by loans or Exchequerbills, chargeable on the first aids that should be given in the next fession. This produced a bill enabling his Majefty to raise the sum of one million, for the uses and purposes therein mentioned, comprehending a clause, allowing the Bank of England to advance, on the credit of the loan therein mentioned, any fum not exceeding a million, notwithstanding the act of the fifth and fixth years in the reign of William and Mary, by which the Bank was established.

§ IX. The bills relating folely to the fupply being difcussed and expedited, the House proceeded asufual to enact other laws for the advantage of the community. Petitions

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having been presented by the cities of Bristol and New Sarum, alledging, that fince the laws prohibiting the making of low wines and spirits from grain, meal, and flour had been in force, the commonalty appeared more fober, healthy, and industrious; representing the ill confequences which they apprehended would attend the repeal of these laws, and therefore praying their continuance; a committee of the whole House resolved that the prohibition to export corn should be continued to the twenty-fourth day of December, in the year one thousand feven hundred and fifty-nine; subject neverless to such provisions for shertening the faid term of its continuance as should therefore be made by any act of that session, or by his Majesty, with the advice of his privy-council, during the recess of parliament; that the act for discontinuing the duties upon corn and flour imported, or brought in as prize, was not proper to be further continued; and that the prohibition to make low wines or spirits from any fort of grain, meal, or flour should be continued to the twentyfourth day of December, in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-nine. Before the bill was formed on these resolutions, petitions arrived from Liverpool and Bath, to the same purport as those of Bristol and Sarum; while, on the other hand, a remonstrance was presented by a great number of the malt-distillers of the city and fuburbs of London, alledging, that it having been deemed expedient to prohibit the diffilling of spirits from any fort of grain to the twenty-fourth day of December then instant, some of the petitioners had entirely ceased to carry on the business of distilling, while others, merely with a view to preserve their customers, the compound, distillers, and employ some of their servants, horses, and utenfils, had submitted to carry on the distillation of spirits from melasses and sugars under great disadvantages, in full hope that the faid restraint would cease at the expiration of thelimited time, or at least when the necessity which occasioned that restraint should be removed; that it was with great concern they observed a bill would be brought in

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for protracting the faid prohibition, at a time when the CHAP. price of all manner of grain, and particularly of wheat and barley, was confiderably reduced, and, as they humbly onceived, at a reasonable medium. They expatiated on the great loss they, as well as many traders and artificers dependents upon them, must sustain, in case the said bill should be passed into a law. They prayed the House to take these circumstances into consideration, and either permit them to carry on the distillation from wheat, malt, and other grain, under fuch restrictions as should be indged necessary; or to grant them such other relief, in respect of their several losses and incumbrances, as to the House should feem reasonable and expedient. This petition, though strenuously urged by a powerful and clamorous body without doors, did not meet with great encouagement within. It was ordered to lie upon the table, and an instruction was given to the committee, empowering them to receive a clause or clauses to allow the transportation of certain quantities of meal, flour, bread, and biscuit to the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, for the sole use of the inhabitants; and another to prohibit the making of low wines and spirits from bran. Much more attention was paid to a petition of several farmers in the county of Norfolk, representing, that their farms confisted chiefly of arable land, which produced much greater quantities of corn than could be confumed within that county; that in the last harvest there was a great and plentiful crop of all forts of grain, the greatest part of which had, by unfavourable weather, been rendered unfit for fale at London, or other markets, for home consumption; that large quantities of malt were then lying at London, arising chiefly from the crops of barley growing in the year one thousand seven hundred and fifty-seven, the sale of which was stagnated; that the petitioners being informed the House had ordered in a bill to continue the prohibition of corn exported, they begged leave to observe, that, should it pass into a law, it would be extremely prejudicial to all, and ruin many farmers of that county, as they

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BOOK they had offered their corn for fale at divers ports and markets of the faid county; but the merchants refused to buy it at any price, alledging its being unfit for the London market, the great quantity of corn with which that market was already overstocked, and their not being allowed either to export it, or make it into malt for exportation: they, therefore, prayed this prohibition might be removed, or they the petitioners indulged with fome other kind of relief. Although this remonstrance was duely confidered, the bill paffed with the amendments, because of the proviso, by which his Majesty in council was empowered to shorten the date of the prohibition, with respect to the exportation of corn, during the recess of parhiament: but the temporary restraint laid upon distillation was made absolute, without any such condition, to the no fmall disappointment and mortification of the distillers, who had spared no pains or expense, by private sollicitation and Arenvous dispute in the publick papers, to recommend their cause to the favour of the community. They urged, that malt spirits, when used in moderation, far from being prejudicial to the health of individuals, were in many damp and marshy parts of the kingdom absolutely necessary for preserving the field-labourers from agues, and other diftempers produced by the cold and moisture of the climate; that if they were debarred the use of malt-spirits, they would have recourse to French brandy, with which, as they generally refided near the fea coaft, the fmugglers would provide them almost as cheap as the malt-spirits could be afforded; thus the increased confumption of French spirit would drain the nation of ready money to a confiderable amount, and prejudice the King's revenue in the same proportion. They observed, that many distillers had already quitted that branch of trade, and disposed of their materials; that all of them would probably take the fame resolution, should the bill pass into a law, as no man could foresee when the prohibition would cease, should it be continued at a time when all forts of grain abounded in fuch plenty: that the very waste of materials by disuse,

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overand above the lying out of the money, would be of great CHAP. prejudice to the proprietor: thus the business of distilling, by which so many families were supported, would be banished from the kingdom entirely: especially, as the expense of establishing a large distillery was so great, that no man would choose to employ his money for this purpose, judging from experience, that some future accidental scarcity of corn might induce the legislature to interpose a ruinous delay in this branch of business. They affirmed, that, from the excessive use of malt-spirits, no good argument could be drawn against this branch of traffick, no more than against any other conveniency of life: that the excessive use of common beer or ale was prejudicial to the health and morals of the people, yet no perion ever thought of putting an end to the practice of brewing, in order to prevent the abuse of brewed liquors. They urged, that in all parts of Great-Britain there are some parcels of land that produce nothing to advantage, but a coarfe kind of barley, called big, which, though neither fit for brewing or for baking, may nevertheless be used in the distillery, and is accordingly purchased by those concerned in this branch at fuch an encouraging price as enables many farmers to pay a higher rent to their landlords than they could otherwise afford: that there are every year some parcels of all forts of grain so damaged by unfeafonable weather, or other accidents, as to be rendered altogether unfit for bread or brewery, and would prove a very great misfortune to the farmer, if there was no distillery, for the use of which he could fell his damaged commodity. They afferted, that malt-spirits were absolutely necessary for prosecuting some branches of foreign commerce, particularly the trade to the coast of Africa, for which traffick no affortment could be made up without a large quantity of geneva, of which the natives are fo fond, that they will not traffick with any merchant who has not a confiderable quantity, not only for fale, but also for presents to their shiefs and rulers: that the merchants of Great-Britain must

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BOOK must either have this commodity of their own produce, or import it at a great national expense from Holland: that the charge of this importation, together with the duties payable upon it, some part of which is not to be drawn back on exportation, will render it impossible for the traders to fell it so cheap on the coast of Africa as it might be fold by the Dutch, who are the great rivals of Great-Britain in this branch of commerce. To these arguments, all of which were plaufible, and some of them unanswerable, it was replied, that malt-spirits might be confidered as a fatal and bewitching poison, which had actually debauched the minds and enervated the bodies of the common people to a very deplorable degree; that, without entering further into a comparison between the use and abuse of the two liquors, beer and geneva, it would be sufficient to observe, that the use of beer and ale had produced none of those dreadful effects which were the confequences of drinking geneva; and fince the prohibition of the diffillery of malt-spirits had taken place, the common people were become apparently more fober, decent, healthy, and industrious: a circumstance sufficient to induce the legislature not only to intermit, but even totally to abolish the practice of distillation, which has ever been productive of fuch intoxication, riot, disorder, and diftemper, among the lower class of the people, as might be deemed the greatest evils incident to a well regulated commonwealth. Their affertion with respect to the coarfe kind of barley, called big, was contradicted as a deviation from truth, inafmuch as it was used in making malt, as well as in making bread: and with respect to damaged corn, those who understood the nature of grain affirmed, that if it was spoiled to such a degree as to be altogether unfit for either of these purposes, the distillers would not purchase it at such a price as would indemnify the farmer for the charge of threshing and carriage; for the distillers are very sensible that their greatest profit is derived from their distilling the malt made from the best barley, so that the increase of the produce far exceeded

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was red Vo. in proportion the advance of the price. It was not, how- C H A P. ever, an easy matter to prove that the distillation of maltfpirits was not necessary to an advantageous profecution of the commerce on the coast of Guinea, as well as among the Indians in some parts of North-America. Certain it is, that in these branches of traffick the want of Geneva may be supplied with spirits distilled from sugars and melasses. After all, it must be owned, that the good and falutary effects of the prohibition were visible in every part of the kingdom, and no evil consequences ensued, except a diminution of the revenue in this article: a confideration which, at all times, ought to be facrificed to the health and morals of the people: nor will this confideration be found of any great weight, when we reflect that the less the malt-spirit is drunk, the greater quantity of beer and ale will be confumed, and the produce of the duties and excise upon the brewery be augmented accordingly.

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§ X. In the mean time, all forts of grain continuing to fall in price, and great plenty appearing in every part of the kingdom, the justices of the peace, and of the grand juries affembled at the general quarter fessions of the peace held for the county of Norfolk, composed and presented to the House of Commons, in the beginning of February, petition, representing, that the weather proving unfavourable in the harvest, great part of the barley raised in that county was much damaged, and rendered unfit for any other use than that of being made into malt for exportation; that, unless it should be speedily manuactured for that purpose, it would be entirely spoiled, and perish in the hands of the growers; a loss that must be very fenfibly felt by the land-owners: they, therefore, enreated that leave might be given for the exportation of malt; and that they might be favoured with fuch further telief, as to the House should seem just and reasonable. a consequence of this petition, the House resolved itself nto a committee, to deliberate upon the subject; and as appeared, upon examination, that the price of grain rasreduced very low, and great abundance diffused through VOL. IV. Dd

B O O K III. 1759. the kingdom, they refolved, that the continuance of that part of the act, prohibiting the exportation of grain, ought to be abridged and shortened, and the exportation of these commodities allowed, under proper regulations with respect to the time of such exportation, and the allowance of bounties thereupon. A bill being sounded on these resolutions, was discussed, and underwent several amendments: at length, it was sent with a new title to the Lords, who passed it without further alteration, and then it obtained the royal sanction.

§ XI. While this affair was under the deliberation of the committee, the Commons unanimously issued an order for leave to bring in a bill to continue, for a limited time, the act of last session, permitting the importation of salted beef from Ireland into Great Britain, with an instruction to receive a clause extending this permission to all forts of falted pork, or hog meat, as the officers of the customhouse had refused to admit hams from Ireland to an entry. The bill likewife received another confiderable alteration, importing, That, instead of the duty of one shilling and three pence, charged by the former act on every hundred weight of falted beef or pork imported from Ireland, which was found not adequate to the duty payable for fuch a quantity of falt as is requisite to be used in curing and falting thereof; and to prevent as well the expense to the revenue, as the detriment and loss which would accrue to the owner and importer, from opening the casks in which the provision is generally deposited, with the pickle or brine proper for preferving the fame, in order to afcertain the net weight of the provision liable to the faid dutiesfor these reasons it was enacted, That from and after the twenty-fourth day of last December, and during the continuance of this act, a duty of three shillings and fourpence should be paid upon importation for every barrel or cask of salted beef or pork containing thirty-two gallons and one shilling and three-pence for every hundred weight of falted beef, called dried beef, dried neats tongues, of dried

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& XII. Repeated complaints having been made to the government by neutral nations, especially the Dutch, that their ships had been plundered, and their crews maltreated, by some of the English privateers, the legislature resolved to provide effectually against any such outrageous practices for the future: and with this view the Commons ordered a bill to be brought in, for amending and explaining an act of the twenty-ninth year of his late Majesty's reign, intituled, "An act for the encouragement of seamen, and "more speedy and effectual manning of his Majesty's "navy." While the committee was employed in perusing commissions and papers relating to private ships of war, that they might be fully acquainted with the nature of the subject, a considerable number of merchants and others, inhabiting the islands of Guernsey and Jersey, prefented a petition to the House, alledging, that the inhabitants of those islands, which lie in the British channel, within fight of the French coast, had now, as well as in former wars, embarked their fortunes in equipping small privateers, which used to run in close with the French thore, and being difguifed like fishing-boats, had not only taken a confiderable number of prizes, to the great annovance of the enemy, but also obtained material intelligence of their defigns, on many important occasions; that these services could not be performed by large vessels. which durst not approach so near the coast, and indeed could not appear without giving the alarm, which was communicated from place to place by appointed fignals. Being informed that a bill was depending, in order to prohibit privateers of small burthen, they declared that such alaw, if extended to privateers equipped in those islands, would ruin fuch as had invested their fortunes in small privateers; and not only deprive the kingdom of the beforementioned advantages, but expose Great-Britain to infinite prejudice from the small armed vessels of France, which the enemy in that case would pour abroad over the whole

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B O O K III. Channel, to the great annoyance of navigation and commerce. They prayed, therefore, that fuch privateers as belonged to the islands of Guernsey and Jersey might be wholly excepted from the penalties contained in the bill. or that they (the petitioners) might be heard by their counsel, and be indulged with fuch relief as the House should judge expedient. This representation being referred to the confideration of the committee, produced divers amendments to the bill, which, at length, obtained the royal affent, and contained these regulations: That, after the first day of January in the present year, no commission should be granted to a privateer in Europe under the burthen of one hundred tons, the force of ten carriage guns, being three-pounders or above, with forty men at the least, unless the lords of the Admiralty, or persons authorifed by them, should think fit to grant the same to any ship of inferior force or burthen, the owners thereof giving fuch bail or fecurity as fhould be prescribed: that the lords of the Admiralty might at any time revoke, by an order in writing under their hands, any commission granted to a privateer; this revocation being subject to an appeal to his Majesty in council, whose determination fhould be final: that, previous to the granting any commission, the persons proposing to be bound, and give security, should severally make oath of their being respectively worth more money than the fum for which they were then to be bound, over and above the payment of all their just debts: that persons applying for such commissions should make application in writing, and therein fet forth a particular and exact description of the vessel, specifying the burthen, and the number and nature of the guns on board, to what place belonging, as well as the name or names of the principal owner or owners, and the number of men: these particulars to be inserted in the commission, and every commander to produce such commission to the Custom-house officer who should examine the vessel, and, finding her answer the description, give a certificate thereof gratis, to be deemed a necessary clearance, without which

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tral nat legislati the commander should not depart: that if, after the first day of June, any captain of a privateer should agree for the ranfom of any neutral veffel, or the cargo, or any part thereof, after it should have been taken as prize, and in pursuance of suchagreement should actually discharge such prize, he should be deemed guilty of piracy; but that with respect to contraband merchandise, he might take it on board his own ship, with the consent of the commander of the neutral veffel, and then fet her at liberty; and that no person should purloin or embezzle the faid merchandise before condemnation: that no judge, or other person belonging to any court of Admiralty, should be concerned in any privateer: that owners of veffels, not being under fifty, or above one hundred tons, whose commissions are declared void, should be indemnified for their loss by the publick: that a court of over and terminer, and jail delivery, for the tryal of offences committed within the jurifdiction of the Admiralty, should be held twice a-year in the Old Bailey, at London, or in fuch other place within England as the board of Admiralty should appoint: that the judge of any court of Admiralty, after an appeal interposed, as well as before, should, at the request of the captor or claimant, iffue an order for appraising the capture, when the parties do not agree upon the value, and an inventory to be taken; then exact fecurity for the full value, and cause the capture to be delivered to the person giving fuch fecurity; but, should objection be made to the taking fuch fecurity, the judge should, at the request of ... either party, order fuch merchandise to be entered, landed, and fold at publick auction, and the produce be deposited at the Bank, or in some publick securities; and in case of security being given, the judge should grant a pass in favour of the capture. Finally, the force of this act was limited to the duration of the then war with France only. This regulation very clearly demonstrated, that whatever violences might have been committed on the ships of neutral nations, they were by no means countenanced by the legislature, or the body of the people. S XIII.

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BOOK III.

& XIII. Every circumstance relating to the information of the marine must be an important object to a nation whose wealth and power depend upon navigation and commerce: but a confideration of equal weight was the effablishment of the militia, which, notwithstanding the repeated endeavours of the parliament, was found still incomplete, and in want of further affistance from the legiflature. His Majesty having, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, recommended to the House the making suitable provision for defraying the charges of the militia during the current year, the accounts of the expense already incurred by this establishment were referred to the committee of fupply, who, after having duely perused them, refolved, that ninety thousand pounds should be granted on account, towards defraying the charges of pay and clothing for the militia, from the last day of the last year to the twenty-fifth day of March in the year one thousand feven hundred and fixty, and for repaying a fum advanced by the King for this fervice. Leave was given to bring in one bill pursuant to this resolution, and another to enforce the execution of the laws relating to the militia, remove certain difficulties, and prevent the inconveniencies by which it might be attended. So intent were the majority on both fides upon this national measure, that they not only carried both bills to the throne, where they received the royal affent; but they presented an address to the King, desiring his Majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the several counties, ridings, and places in England, to use their utmost diligence and attention for carrying into execution the several acts of parliament relating to the militia. By this time all the individuals that constituted the representatives of the people, except such as actually ferved in the army, were become very well dilposed towards this institution. Those who really wished well to their country had always exerted themselves in its favour: and it was now likewise espoused by those who forefaw that the establishment of a national militia would enable the administration to fend the greater number of

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<sup>\*</sup> The intransaction fheriffs, ar merated ar and collection the estate of the estate of

regular troops to fight the battles of Germany. Yet how CHAP. zealous foever the legislature might be in promoting this institution, and notwithstanding the success with which many patriots exerted their endeavours through different parts of the kingdom in raising and disciplining the militia, it was found not only difficult, but almost impracticable to execute the intention of the parliament in some particular counties, where the gentlemen were indolent and enervated, or in those places where they looked upon their commander with contempt. Even Middlesex itself, where the King refides, was one of the last counties in which the militia could be arrayed. In allusion to this backwardness, the preamble or first clause in one of the present acts imported, that certain counties, ridings, and places in England had made fome progress in establishing the militia, without completing the fame, and that in certain other counties little progress had been made therein, his Majesty's lieutenants and the deputy lieutenants, and all others within fuch counties or districts, were therefore strictly required speedily and diligently to put these acts in execution. The truth is, some of these unwarlike commanders failed through ignorance and inactivity; others gave or offered commissions to such people as threw a ridicule and contempt upon the whole establishment, and confequently hindered many gentlemen of worth, spirit, and capacity from engaging in the fervice. The mutinybill, and that for the regulation of the marine-forces while on shore, passed through the usual forms, as annual meafures, without any dispute or alteration\*.

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\* The next bill that fell under the cognizance of the House related to a law transaction, and was suggested by a petition presented in the name of the heriffs, and grantees of post-fines under the crown of England. They enumerated and explained the difficulties under which they laboured, in raising and collecting these fines within the respective counties; particularly when the estate conveyed by fine was no more than a right of reversion, in which case they could not possibly levy the post-fine, unless the purchaser should obtain possession within the term of the sherisfalty, or pay it of his own free will, as they could not diffrain while the lands were in the possession of the donee. They, therefore, proposed a method for raising these post-fines by a proper

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§ XIV. A committee having been appointed to enquire what laws were expired, or near expiring, and to report their opinion to the House touching the revival or continuation of these laws, they agreed to several resolutions: in consequence of which the following bills were brought in, and enacted into laws; namely, an act for regulating the lastage and ballastage of the river Thames; an act for continuing the law relating to the punishment of persons going armed or difguifed; an act for continuing feveral laws near expiring; an act concerning the admeasurement of coals; and an act for the relief of debtors, with respect to the imprisonment of their persons. was almost totally metamorphosed by alterations, amendments, and additions, among which the most remarkable were thefe: that where more creditors than one shall charge any prisoner in execution, and defire to have him detained in prison, they shall only respectively pay him each fuch weekly fum, not exceeding one shilling and fix-pence per week, as the court, at the time of his being remanded, shall direct: that if any prisoner, described by

a proper officer, to be appointed for that purpose; and prayed that leave might be given to bring in a bill accordingly. This petition was seconded by a message from the King, importing, that his Majesty, as far as his interest was concerned, gave his consent that the House might act in this affair as they should think proper.

The Commons, in a committee of the whole House, having taken into confideration the merits of the petition, formed feveral resolutions; upon which a bill was founded for the more regular and easy collecting, accounting for, and paying of post-fines, which should be due to the crown, or to the grantees thereof under the crown, and for the ease of sheriffs in respect to the same. Before it passed into a law, however, it was opposed by a petition in favour of one William Daw, a lunarick, clerk of the King's filver office, alledging, that should the bill pais, it would deprive the faid Daw and his successors of an ancient fee belonging to his office, on fearches made for post-fines by the under-sheriffs of the several counties; therefore, praying that such provision might be made for the faid lunatick as to the House should seem just and reasonable. This, and divers other petitions respecting the bill, being discuffed in the committee, it underwent several amendments, and was enacted into a law; the particulars of which cannot be properly understood without a previous explanation of this method of conveying estates : a subject obscure in itself, founded upon a seeming subterfuge of law, scarce reconcileable with the dictates of common fense, and consequently improper for the pen of an his torian.

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the act, shall remain in prison three months after being C H A P. committed, any creditor may compel him to give into court, upon oath, an account of his real and personal estate, to be disposed of for the benefit of his creditors. they confenting to his being discharged. Why the humanity of this law was confined to those prisoners only who are not charged in execution with any debt exceeding one hundred pounds cannot eafily be conceived. man, who, through unavoidable misfortunes, hath funk from affluence to mifery and indigence, is generally a greater object of compassion than he who never knew the delicacies of life, nor ever enjoyed credit fufficient to contract debts to any confiderable amount: yet the latter is by this law entitled to his discharge, or at least to a maintenance in prison; while the former is left to starve ingaol, or undergo perpetual imprisonment, amidst all the horrors of mifery, if he owes above one hundred pounds to a revengeful and unrelenting creditor. Wherefore, in a country, the people of which justly pique themselves upon charity and benevolence, an unhappy fellow-citizen, reduced to a state of bankruptcy by unforeseen losses in trade, should be subjected to a punishment, which, of all others, must be the most grievous to a free-born Briton, namely, the entire loss of liberty; a punishment which the most flagrant crime can hardly deferve, in anation that disclaims the torture; for, doubtless, perpetual imprisonment must be a torture infinitely more severe than death, because protracted through a feries of years spent in misery and despair, without one glimmering ray of hope, without the most distant prospect of deliverance? Wherefore the legiflature should extend its humanity to those only who are the least sensible of the benefit, because the most able to struggle under misfortune; and wherefore many valuable individuals should, for no guilt of their own, be not only ruined to themselves, but lost to the community? are questions which we cannot resolve to the satisfaction of the reader. Of all imprisoned debtors, those who are confined for large fums may be deemed the most wretched

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and forlorn, because they have generally fallen from a fphere of life where they had little acquaintance with necessity, and were altogether ignorant of the arts by which the feverities of indigence are alleviated. On the other hand, those of the lower class of mankind, whose debts are small in proportion to the narrowness of their former credit, have not the same delicate feelings of calamity. They are inured to hardship, and accustomed to the labour of their hands, by which, even in a prison, they can earn a subsistence. Their reverse of fortune is not so great, nor the transition so affecting. Their sensations are not delicate; nor are they, like their betters in miffortune, cut off from hope, which is the wretch's last comfort. It is the man of fentiment and fensibility who, in this fituation, is overwhelmed with a complication of mifery and ineffable diffress. The mortification of his pride, his ambition blafted, his family undone, himfelf deprived of liberty, reduced from opulence to extreme want, from the elegancies of life to the most squalid and frightful scenes of poverty and affliction; divested of comfort, destitute of hope, and doomed to linger out a wretched being in the midst of infult, violence, riot, and uproar: these are reflections so replete with horror, as to render him, in all respects, the most miserable object on the face of the earth. He, alas! though possessed of talents that might have effentially ferved, and even adorned fociety, while thus restrained in prison, and affected in mind, can exert no faculty, nor stoop to any condescension, by which the horrors of his fate might be affuaged. scornsto execute the lowest offices of menial services, particularly in attending those who are the objects of contempt or abhorrence: he is incapable of exercifing any mechanick art, which might afford a happy though a fcanty independence. Shrunk within his difmal cell, furrounded by haggard poverty, and her gaunt attendants, hollow-eyed famine, shivering cold, and wan diseafe, he wildly casts his eyes around: he sees the tender partner of his heart weeping in filent woe: he hears his helples

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helpless babes clamorous for sustenance; he feels himself C H A P. the importunate cravings of human nature, which he cannot fatisfy; and groans with all the complicated pangs of internal anguish, horrour, and despair. These are not the fictions of idle fancy, but real pictures, drawn from nature, of which almost every prison in England will afford but too many originals.

§ XV. Among other new measures, a successful attempt was made in favour of Ireland, by a bill, permitting the free importation of cattle from that kingdom for a This, however, was not carried through limited time. both Houses without considerable opposition, arising from the particular interest of certain counties and districts in feveral parts of Great-Britain, from whence petitions against the bill were transmitted to the Commons. Divers artifices were also used within doors to faddle the bill with fuch clauses as might overcharge the scheme, and render it odious or alarming to the publick: but the promoters of it being aware of the defign, conducted it in fuch a manner as to frustrate all their views, and convey it safely to the throne, where it was enacted into a law. The like faccess attended another effort in behalf of our fellowsubjects of Ireland. The bill for the importation of Irish cattle was no fooner ordered to be brought in, than the House proceeded to take into consideration the duties then payable on the importation of tallow from the fame kingtom, and feveral witnesses being examined, the committee agreed to a refolution that these duties should cease and determine for a limited time. A bill being formed accordingly, passed through both Houses without opposition; though in the preceding fession a bill to the same purpose had miscarried among the peers: a miscarriage probably owing to their being unacquainted with the fentiments of his Majesty, as some of the duties upon tallow constituted part of one of the branches appropriated for the civil lift revenue. This objection, however, was obvizted in the case of the present bill, by the King's message to the House of Commons, fignifying his Majesty's consent, as far as

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B O O K IIL 1759. his interest was concerned in the affair. By this new act the free importation of Irish tallow was permitted for the term of five years.

§ XVI. In the month of February the Commons prefented an address to his Majesty, requesting that he would give directions for laying before the House an account of what had been done, fince the beginning of last year, towards securing the harbour of Milford, in pursuance of any directions from his Majesty. These accounts being perused, and the King having, by the Chancellor of the Exchequer, exhorted them tomake provision for fortifying the faid harbour, a bill was brought in, to explain, amend, and rendermore effectual, the act of the last session relating to this subject; and, passing through both Houses, received the royal affent without opposition. By this act several engineers were added to the commissioners formerly appointed; and it was ordained that fortifications should be erected at Peter-church-point, Westlanyon-point, and Neyland-point, as being the most proper and best situated places for fortifying the interior parts of the harbour. It was also enacted that the commissioners should appoint proper secretaries, clerks, affiftants, and other officers, for carrying the two acts into execution; and that an account of the application of the money should be laid before parliament, within twenty days of the opening of every fession. What next attracted the attention of the House was an affair of the utmost importance to the commerce of the kingdom, which equally affected the interest of the nation, and the character of the natives. In the latter end of February complaint was made to the House, that, fince the commencement of the war, an infamous traffick had been fet on foot by some merchants of London, of importing French cloths into feveral ports of the Levant, on account of British Subjects. Five persons were summoned to attend the House, and the fact was fully proved, not only by their evidence, but also by some papers submitted to the House by the Turkey company. A bill was immediately contrived for putting a stop to this scandalous practice, not only woolen to the en

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practice, reciting in the preamble, that such traffick was not only a manifest discouragement and prejudice to the woolen manufactures of Great-Britain, but also a relief to the enemy, in consequence of which they were enabled to maintain the war against these kingdoms.

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§ XVII. The next object that employed the attention of the Commons was to explain and amend a law made in the last session for granting to his Majesty several rates and duties upon offices and penfions. The directions specified in the former act for levying this imposition having been found inconvenient in many respects, new regulations were now established, importing that those deductions should be paid into the hands of receivers appointed by the King for that purpose; that all sums deducted under this act should be accounted for to such receivers, and the accounts audited and paffed by them, and not by the auditors of the imprests, or of the Exchequer; that all disputes relating to the collection of this duty should be finally, and in a fummary way, determined by the barons of the Exchequer in England and Scotland respectively; that the commissioners of the land-tax should fix and afcertain the fum total or amount of the perquifites of every office and employment within their respective districts, distinct from the salary thereunto belonging, to be deducted under the faid act, independently of any former valuation or affestment of the same to the land-tax; and should rate or affess all offices and employments, the perquifites whereof should be found to exceed the sum of one hundred pounds per annum, at one shilling for every twenty thence arising; that the receivers should transmit to the commissioners in every district where any office or employment is to be affeffed, an account of fuch offices and employments, that upon being certified of the truth of their amount they might be rated and affeffed accordingly; that in all future affessments of the land-tax the said offices and employments should not be valued at higher rates than those at which they were affested towards the land-tax of the thirty-first year of the present reign; that the word perquifite

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us :e, B O O K III. perquifite should be understood to mean such profits of offices and employments as arise from fees established by custom or authority, and payable either by the crown or the subjects, in consideration of business done in the course of executing such offices and employments; and that a commissioner possessed of any office or employment might not interfere in the execution of the faid act, except in what might relate to his own employment. By the four last clauses several salaries were exempted from the payment of this duty. The objections made without doors to this new law were the accession of pecuniary influence to the crown, by the creation of a new office and officers, whereas this duty might have been eafily collected and received by the commissioners of the land-tax already appointed, and the inconfistency that appeared between the fifth and seventh clauses: in the former of these, the commissioners of the land-tax were vested with the power of affesting the perquisites of every office within their respective districts, independent of any former valuation or affefiment of the same to the land-tax; and by the latter, they are restricted from affesting any office at a higher rate than that of the thirty-first year of the reign of George II.

§ XVIII. In the beginning of March petitions were offered to the House by the merchants of Birmingham, in Warwickshire, and Sheffield, in Yorkshire, specifying that the toy trade of these and many other towns consisted generally of articles in which gold and filver might be faid to be manufactured, though in fmall proportion, inafmuch as the fale of them depended upon flight ornaments of gold and filver: that by a clause passed in the last session of parliament, obliging every person who should fell goods or wares in which any gold or filver was manufactured to take out an annual license of forty shillings, they the petitioners were laid under great difficulties and difadvantages: that not only the first feller, but every person through whose hands the goods or wares passed to the confumer, was required to take out the faid license; they, therefore, requested that the House would take these hardships hardi them this a fition of th bill b " th u gr " lat " lic " an fanct and f Infle was g filver discu the 1 of h Port town of ar rified refol

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fuch p coffee, often a fummer hardships and inequalities into consideration, and indulge C H A P. The committee, to which them with reasonable relief. this affair was referred having refolved that this impofition was found detrimental to the toy and cutlery trade of the kingdom, the House agreed to the resolution, and a bill being prepared, under the title of " An act to amend " the act made in the last session, for repealing the duty " granted by an act of the fixth year of the reign of his " late Majesty on filver plate, and for granting a duty on " licenses to be taken out by all persons dealing in gold " and filver plate," was enacted into a law by the royal fanction. By this new regulation, small quantities of gold and filver plate were allowed to be fold without licenfe. Instead of the duty before payable upon licenses, another was granted, to be taken out by certain dealers in gold and filver plate, pawnbrokers, and refiners. This affair being discussed, the House took into consideration the claims of the proprietors of lands purchased for the better securing of his Majesty's docks, ships, and stores at Chatham, Portsmouth, and Plymouth; and for better fortifying the town of Portsmouth and citadel of Plymouth, in pursuance of an act passed in the last session. We have already specified the fum granted for this purpose, in consequence of a resolution of the House, upon which a bill being founded, foon paffed into a law, without opposition\*.

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§ XIX. In the month of April, a bill was brought in for the more effectual preventing the fraudulent importation of cambricks; and whilst it was under deliberation, several

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The next bill which was brought into the House related to the summonsiffued by the commissioners of the Excise, and justices of the peace, for the appearance of persons offending against, or for forfeitures incurred by the laws of Excise. As some doubts had arisen with respect to the method of formmoning in fuch cases, this bill, which obtained the royal affent in due course, enacted, that a summons lest at the House, or usual place of residence, or with the wife, child, or menial fervants of the person so summoned, should be held as legal notice, as we'l as the leaving fuch notice at the house, workhouse, warehouse, shop, cellar, vault, or usual place of residence of fuch person, directed to him by his right or assumed name; and all dealers in coffee, tea, or chocolate were subjected to the penalty of twenty pounds as often as they should neglect to attend the commissioners of Excise, when summoned in this manner.

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BOOK merchants and wholesale drapers of the city of London presented a petition, representing the grievances to which they, and many thousands of other traders, would be subjected, should the bill, as it then stood, be passed into a According to their request, they were heard by their counsel on the merits of this remonstrance, and fome amendments were made to the bill in their favour. At length it received the royal affent, and became a law to the following effect: It enacted, that no cambricks, French lawns, or linens of this kind, usually entered under the denomination of cambricks, should be imported after the first day of next August, but in bales, cases, or boxes, covered with fackcloth or canvas, containing each one hundred whole pieces, or two hundred half pieces, on penalty of forfeiting the whole: that cambricks and French lawns should be imported for exportation only, lodged in the king's warehouse, and delivered out under like security and reftrictions as prohibited East-India merchandise; and, on importation, pay only the half fubfidy: that all cambricks and French lawns in the custody of any persons should be deposited, by the first of August, in the king's warehouses, the bonds thereupon be delivered up, and the drawback on exportation paid; yet the goods should not be delivered out again but for exportation: that cambricks and French lawns exposed to fale, or found in the possession of private persons, after the said day, should be forfeited, and liable to be fearched for, and feifed, in like manner as other prohibited and uncustomed goods are; and the offender should forfeit two hundred pounds, over and above all other penalties and forfeitures inflicted by any former act: that if any doubt should arise concerning the species or quality of the goods, or the place where they were manufactured, the proof should lie on the owner: finally, that the penalty of five pounds, inflicted by a former act, and payable to the informer, on any person that should wear any cambrick or French lawns, should still remain in force, and be recoverable, on conviction, by oath of one witness, before one justice of the peace. - The last success-

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ful bill which this fession produced was that relating to the augmentation of the falaries of the judges in his Maiefty's superior courts of justice. A motion having been made for an instruction to the committee of supply, to confider of the faid augmentation, the Chancellor of the Exchequer acquainted the House that this augmentation was recommended to them by his Majesty. Nevertheless, the motion was opposed, and a warm debate enfued. At length, however, being carried in the affirmative, the committee agreed to certain resolutions, on which a bill was founded. While it remained under discussion, a motion was made for an instruction to the committee, that they should have power to receive a clause or clauses for restraining the judges, comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from receiving any fee, gift, prefent, or entertainment from any city, town, borough, or corporation, or from any sheriff, jailer, or other officer, upon their several respective circuits, and from taking any gratuity from any office or officer of any of the courts of law. Another motion was made, for a clause restraining such judges, barons, and justices, as were comprehended within the provisions of the bill, from interfering, otherwise than by giving their own votes, in any election of members to serve in parliament; but both these proposals, being put to the vote, were carried in the negative. These two motions being over-ruled by the majority, the bill underwent some amendments; and, having passed through both Houses in the ordinary course, was enacted into a law by the royal fanction. With respect to the import of this act, it is no other than the establishment of the feveral stamp-duties, applied to the augmentation; and the appropriation of their produce in such a manner, that the crown cannot alter the application of the sums thus granted in parliament. But, on this occasion, no attempt was made in favour of the independency of the judges, which feems to have been invaded by a late interpretation of, or rather by a deviation from, the act of lettlement; in which it is expressly ordained, that the VOL. IV. commissions

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BOOK commissions of the judges should continue in force quamdia fe bene gefferine; that their falaries should be fixed, and none of them removeable but by an address of both Houses of parliament. It was then, without all doubt, the intention of the legislature that every judge should enjoy his office during life, unless convicted by legal trial of fome mifbehaviour, or unless both Houses of parliament should concur in defiring his removal: but the doctrine now adopted imports, that no commission can continue in force longer than the life of the King by whom it was granted; that therefore the commissions of the judges must be renewed by a new king at his accession, who should have it in his power to employ either those whom he finds acting as judges at his accession, or confer their offices on others, with no other restraint than that the condition of the new commissions should be quam diu le bene gefferint. Thus the office of a judge is rendered more precarious, and the influence of the crown receives a confiderable re-enforcement.

> § XX. Among the bills that miscarried in the course of this fession, we may number a second attempt to carry into execution the scheme which was offered last year for the more effectual manning the navy, preventing defertion, and relieving and encouraging the seamen of Great-Bri-A bill was accordingly brought in, couched in nearly the same terms which had been rejected in the last fession; and it was supported by a considerable number of members, animated with a true spirit of patriotism: but to the trading part of the nation it appeared one of those plausible projects, which, though agreeable in speculation, cannever be reduced into practice without a concomitancy of greater evils than those they were intended to remove. While the bill remained under the confideration of the House, petitions were presented against it by themerchants of Briftol, Scarborough, Whitby, Kingston-upon-Hull, and Lancaster, representing, That, by such a law, the trade of the kingdom, which is the nursery and support of seamen at all times, and that spirit of equipping private thips

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ships of war, which had been of distinguished service to the nation, would be laid under such difficulties as might cause a great stagnation in the former, and a total suppression of the latter; the bill, therefore would be highly prejudicial to the marine of the kingdom, and altogether ineffectual for the purposes intended. A great number of books and papers, relating to trading thips and veffels as well as to feamen, and other perfons protected or preffed into the navy, and to expenses occasioned by pressing men into the navy, were examined in a committee of the whole House, and the bill was improved with many amendments: nay, after it was printed and engroffed, feveral clauses were added by way of rider; yet still the experiment feemed dangerous. The motion for its being paffed was violently opposed; warm debates ensued; they were adjourned, and refumed; and the arguments against the bill appeared at length in fuch a striking light, that, when the question was put, the majority declared for the negative. The regulations which had been made in parliament during the twenty-fixth, the twenty-eighth, and thirtieth years of the present reign, for the preservation of the publick roads, being attended with fome inconveniencies in certain parts of the kingdom, petitions were brought from some counties in Wales, as well as from the freeholders of Herefordshire, the farmers of Middlesex, and others, enumerating the difficulties attending the use of broad wheels in one case, and the limitation of horses used in drawing carriages with narrow wheels in the other. The matter of these remonstrances was considered in a committee of the whole House, which resolved that the weight to be carried by all waggons and carts travelling on the turnpike roads should be limited. On this resolution a bill was framed, for amending and reducing into one act of parliament the three acts before mentioned for the preservation of the publick highways: but some objections being started, and a petition interposed by the land-owners of Suffolk and Norfolk, alledging that the bill, if passed into a law, would render it impossible to bring fresh provi-

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fions from those counties to London, as the supply de. pended absolutely upon the quickness of conveyance, the further confideration of it was postponed to a longer day, and never resumed in the sequel: so that the attempt miscarried.

& XXI. Of all the subjects which, in the course of this fession, fell under the cognizance of parliament, there was none that more interested the humanity or challenged the redress of the legislature than did the case of the poor infolvent debtors, who languished under all the miseries of indigence and imprisonment. In the month of February a petition was offered to the Commons in behalf of bankrupts, who reprefented, That having scrupulously conformed to the laws made concerning bankruptcy, by furrendering their all upon oath for the benefit of their creditors, they had nevertheless been refused their certificates, without any probability of relief; that by this cruel refusal, many bankrupts had been obliged to abscond, while others were immured in prison, and these unhappy sufferers groaned under the particular hardship of being excluded from the benefit of laws occasionally made for the relief of infolvent debtors; that the power vested in creditors of refusing certificates to their bankrupts was, as the petitioners conceived, founded upon a prefumption that fuch power would be tenderly exercifed, and never but in notorious cases; but the great increase in the number of bankrupts within two years past, and the small proportion of those who had been able to obtain their certificates, seemed to demonstrate that the power had been used for cruel and unjust purposes, contrary to the intention of the legislature: that as the greater part of the petitioners, and their fellow-fufferers, must inevitably and speedily perish, with their diffressed families, unless seasonably relieved by the interpolition of parliament, they implored the compassion of the House, from which they hoped immediate favour and relief. This petition was accompanied with a printed case, explaining the nature of the laws relating to bankrupts, and pointing out their defects in point of policy

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as well as humanity; but little regard was feemingly paid C H A P. to either remonstrance. Other petitions, however, being presented by insolvent debtors imprisoned in different jails within the kingdom, leave was given to bring in a bill for their relief, and a committee appointed to examine the laws relating to bankruptcy.

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§ XXII. Among other petitionary remonstrances on this subject, the members were separately presented with the printed case of Captain George Walker, a prisoner in the jail of the King's-Bench, who had been declared a bankrupt and complained, that he had been subjected to fome flagrant acts of injuffice and oppression. The case contained fuch extraordinary allegations, and the captain's character was fo remarkably fair and interesting, that the committee, which were empowered to fend for persons, papers, and records, refolved to enquire into the particulars of his misfortune. A motion was made and agreed to, that the marshal of the prison should bring the captain before the committee, and the Speaker's warrant was iffued accordingly. The prisoner was produced, and examined at feveral fittings; and fome of the members expressed a laudable eagerness to do him justice: but his antagonists were very powerful, and left no stone unturned to frustrate the purpose of the enquiry, which was dropped of course at the end of the session. Thus the unfortunate Captain Walker, who had, in the late war, remarkably diftinguished himself at sea by his courage and conduct, repeatedly fignalised himself against the enemies of his country, was fent back, without redrefs, to the gloomy mansions of a jail, where he had already pined for several years, useless to himself, and lost to the community, while he might have been profitably employed in retrieving his own fortune, and exerting his talents for the general advantage of the nation. While this affair was in agitation, the bill for the relief of infolvent debtors was prepared, printed, and read a fecond time; but, when the motion was made for its being committed, a debate arose, and this was adjourned from time to time till the end of E e 3

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BOOK the fession. In the mean time, the committee continued to deliberate upon the laws relating to bankruptcy; and in the beginning of June reported their resolution to the House, that, in their opinion, some amendments might be made to the laws concerning bankruptcy; to the advantage of creditors, and relief of infolvents. Such was the notice vouchfafed to the cries of many British fubjects, deprived of liberty, and destitute of the common necessaries of life.

> &XXIII. It would engage us in a long digreffive difcustion, were we to enquire how the spirit of the laws in England, fo framed for lenity, has been exasperated into fuch feverity against infolvent debtors; and why, among a people fo distinguished for generosity and compassion, the jails should be more filled with prisoners than they are in any other part of Christendom. Perhaps both these deviations from a general character are violent efforts of a wary legislature made in behalf of trade, which cannot be too much cherished in a nation that principally depends upon commerce. The question is, whether this laudable aim may not be more effectually accomplished, without subjecting individuals to oppression, arising from the cruelty and revenge of one another. As the laws are modelled at present, it cannot be denied that the debtor, in some cases, lies in a peculiar manner at the mercy of his creditor. By the original and common law of England, no man could be imprisoned for debt. The plaintiff in any civil action could have no execution upon his judgement against either the body or the lands of the defendant : even with respect to his good and chattels, which were subject to execution, he was obliged to leave him fuch articles as were necessary for agriculture. But, in process of time, this indulgence being found prejudicial to commerce, a law was enacted, in the reign of Edward the First, allowing execution on the person of the debtor, provided his goods and chattels were not sufficient to pay the debt which he had contracted. This law was fill attended with a very obvious inconvenience. The debtor who possessed an estate in lands was tempted

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tempted to secrete his moveable effects, and live in concealment on the produce of his lands, while the sheriff connived at his retirement. To remove this evil, a fecond statute was enacted in the same reign, granting immediate execution against the body, lands, and goods of the debtor; yet his effects could not be fold for the benefit of his creditor till the expiration of three months, during which he himself could dispose of them for ready money, in order to discharge his incumbrances. If the creditor was not fatisfied in this manner, he continued in possession of the debtor's lands, and detained the debtor himfelf in prison, where he was obliged to fupply him with bread and water for his fupport, until the debt was discharged. Other fevere regulations were made in the fequel, particularly in the reign of Edward the Third, which gave rife to the writ of capias ad satisfaciendum. This, indeed, rendered the preceding laws, called statute-merchant, and statutestaple, altogether unnecessary. Though the liberty of the subject, and the security of the landholder, were thus, in some measure, facrificed to the advantage of commerce, an imprisoned debtor was not left entirely at the mercy of an inexorable creditor. If he made all the fatisfaction in his power, and could show that his insolvency was owing to real misfortunes, the court of Chancery interposed on his petition, and actually ordered him to be difcharged from prison, when no good reason for detaining him could be affigned. This interposition, which feems naturally to belong to a court of equity, constituted with a view to mitigate the rigour of the common law, ceased, in all probability, after the restoration of Charles the Second, and of confequence the prisons were filled with debtors. Then the legislature charged themselves with the extension of a power, which perhaps a chancellor no longer thought himself safe in exercising; and in the year one thousand fix hundred and seventy, passed the first act for the relief of infolvent debtors, granting a release to all prisoners for debt, without distinction or enquiry. By this general indulgence, which has even in a great Ee4 measure

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measure continued in all subsequent acts of the same kind. the lenity of the parliament may be fometimes misapplied, inafmuch as infolvency is often criminal, arfing from profligacy and extravagance, which deferve to be feverely punished. Yet, even for this species of insolvency, perpetual imprisonment, aggravated by the miseries of extreme indigence, and the danger of perifhing through famine, may be deemed a punishment too severe. cruel then must it be to leave the most innocent bankrupt exposed to this punishment, from the revenge or finister defign of a mercilefs creditor; a creditor, by whose fraud perhaps the prisoner became a bankrupt, and by whose eraft he is detained in jail, lest, by his discharge from prifon, he should be enabled to feek that redress in Chancery to which he is entitled on a fair account! The severity of the law was certainly intended against fraudulent bankrupts only; and the statute of bankruptcy is, doubtless, favourable to infolvents, as it discharges from all former debts those who obtain their certificates. As British subjects, they are furely entitled to the fame indulgence which is granted to other infolvents. They were always included in every act paffed for the relief of infolvent debtors, till the fixth year of George I. when they were first excepted from this benefit. By a law enacted in the reign of Queen Anne, relating to bankruptcy, any creditor was at liberty to object to the confirmation of the bankrupt's certificate; but the chancellor had power to judge whether the objection was frivolous or well founded: yet, by a later act, the chancellor is obliged to confirm the certificate, if it is agreeable to four-fifths in number and value of the creditors; whereas he cannot confirm it, should he be opposed, even without any reason assigned, by one creditor to whom the greatest part of the debt is owing. It might, therefore, deserve the consideration of parliament, whether, in extending their clemency to the poor, it should not be equally diffused to bankrupts and other insolvents; whether proper distinction ought not to be made between the innocent bankrupt, who fails through misfortunes in trade, and and h and f would a trib

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and him who becomes infolvent from fraud or profligacy; CHAP. and finally, whether the enquiry and trial of all fuch cases would not properly fall within the province of chancery, a tribunal inftituted for the mitigation of common law?

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& XXIV. The House of Commons seems to have been determined on another measure, which, however, does not admit of explanation. An order was made in the month of February, that leave should be given to bring in a bill to explain, amend, and render effectual fo much of an act, passed in the thirteenth year of George II. against the excessive increase of horse-races, and deceitful gaming, as related to that increase. The bill was accordingly presented, read, printed, and ordered to be committed to a committee of the whole House; but the order was delayed from time to time till the end of the fession. Some progress was likewise made in another affair of greater consequence to the community. A committee was appointed in the month of March, to take into consideration the state of the poor in England, as well as the laws enacted for their maintenance. The clerks of the peace belonging to all the counties, cities, and towns in England and Wales, were ordered to transmit, for the perusal of the House, an account of the annual expense of passing vagrants through their respective divisions and districts for four years; and the committee began to deliberate on this important subject. In the latter end of May the House was made acquainted with their resolutions, importing, that the present method of relieving the poor in the respective parishes, where no workhouses have been provided for their reception and employment, are, in general, very burthensome to the inhabitants, and tend to render the poor miserable to themselves, and useless to the community: that the present method of giving money out of the parochial rates to perfons capable of labour, in order to prevent them from claiming an entire subsistence for themselves and their families, is contrary to the spirit and intention of the laws for the relief of the poor, is a dangerous power in the hands of parochial officers.

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BOOK officers, a misapplication of the publick money, and a great encouragement to idleness and intemperance: that the employment of the poor, under proper direction and management, in fuch works and manufactures as are fuited to their respective capacities, would be of great utility to the publick: that fettling the poor in workhouses, to be provided in the feveral counties and ridings in England and Wales, under the direction and management of governors and trustees to be appointed for that purpose, would be the most effectual method of relieving such poor persons, as, by age, infirmities, or diseases, are rendered incapable of supporting themselves by their labour; of employing the able and industrious, reforming the idle and profligate, and of educating poor children in religion and industry: that the poor in such workhouses would be better regulated and maintained, and managed with more advantage to the publick, by guardians, governors, or trustees, to be specially appointed, or chosen for the purpose, and incorporated with such powers, and under fuch restrictions, as the legislature should deem proper, than by the annual parochial officers: that erecting workhouses upon waste lands, and appropriating a certain quantity of fuch lands to be cultivated, in order to produce provision for the poor in the faid houses, would not only be a means of instructing and employing many of the faid poor in agriculture, but lessen the expense of the publick: that controversies and law-suits concerning the settlements of poor persons occasioned a very great, and, in general, an ufeless expense to the publick, amounting to many thousand pounds per annum; and that often more money is expended in afcertaining fuch fettlements, by each of the contending parishes, than would be sufficient to maintain the paupers: that should workhouses be established for the general reception of the poor, in the respective counties and ridings of England, the laws relating to the fettlements of the poor, and the passing of vagrants, might be repealed: that while the present laws relating to the poor subsist, the compelling parish-officers to grant certificates

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certificates to the poor would, in all probability, prevent the hardships they now suffer, in being debarred gaining their livelihood, where they can doit most usefully to themfelves and the publick. From thefe fenfible resolutions, the reader may conceive some idea of the misconduct that attends the management of the poor in England, as well as of the grievous burthens entailed upon the people by the present laws which constitute this branch of the legislature. The committee's refolves being read at the table, an order was made that they should be taken into consideration on a certain day, when the order was again put off, and in the interim the parliament was prorogued. While the committee deliberated upon this affair, leave was given to prepare a bill for preventing tenants under a certain yearly rent from gaining fettlements in any particular parish, by being there rated in any land-tax affessment, and paying for the landlord the money fo charged. This order was afterwards discharged; and another bill brought in, to prevent any person from gaining a settlement, by being rated by virtue of an act of parliament for granting any aid to his Majesty by a land-tax, and paying the same. The bill was accordingly presented, read, committed, and paffed the Lower House; but among the Lords it miscarried. It can never be expected that the poor will be managed with economy and integrity, while the execution of the laws relating to their maintenance is left in the hands of low tradefmen, who derive private advantage from supplying them with necessaries, and often favour the imposition of one another with the most scandalous collusion. This is an evil which will never be remedied, until persons of independent fortune, and unblemished integrity, actuated by a spirit of true patriotism, shall rescue their fellow-citizens from the power of fuch interested miscreants, by taking the poor into their own management and protection. Instead of multiplying laws with respect to the settlement and management of the poor, which ferve only to puzzle and perplex the parish and peace officers, it would become the fagacity

CHAP. X. B O O K III. fagacity of the legislature to take some effectual precautions to prevent the increase of paupers and vagrants, which is become an intolerable nuifance to the commonwealth. Towards this falutary end, furely nothing would more contribute than a reformation of the police, that would abolish those infamous places of entertainment, which fwarm in every corner of the metropolis, feducing people of all ranks to extravagance, profligacy, and ruin; that would restrict within due bounds the number of publick-houses, which are augmented to an enormous degree, affording fo many afylums for riot and debauchery, and corrupting the morals of the common people to fuch a pitch of licentious indecency, as must be a reproach to every civilised nation. Let it not be affirmed, to the diffrace of Great-Britain, that fuch receptacles of vice and impunity sublist under the connivance of the government, according to the narrow views and confined speculation of those shallow politicians, who imagine that the revenue is increased in proportion to the quantity of strong liquors confumed in fuch infamous recesses of intemperance. Were this in reality the cafe, that administration would deserve to be branded with eternal infamy, which could facrifice to fuch a bafe confideration the health, the lives, and the morals of their fellow-creatures: but nothing can be more fallacious, than the supposition, that the revenue of any government can be increased by the augmented intemperance of the people; for intemperance is the bane of induftry, as well as of population; and what the government gains in the articles of the duty on malt, and the excife upon liquors, will always be greatly over-balanced by the loss in other articles, arising from the diminution of hands, and the neglect of labour.

§ XXV. Exclusive of the bills that were actually prepared, though they did not pass in the course of this session, the Commons deliberated on other important subjects, which, however, were not finally discussed. In the beginning of the session, a committee being appointed to resume the enquiry touching the regulation of weights and measures, the pound again depoint comm

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measures, a subject we have mentioned in the history of C H A P. the preceding fession, the box which contained a Troy pound weight, locked up by order of the House, was again produced by the clerk in whose custody it had been This affair being carefully investigated, the committee agreed to fourteen refolutions\*. In the mean

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time

\* As the curiofity of the reader may be interested in these resolutions, we hall here insert them for his satisfaction. The committee resolved, that the ell ought to contain one yard and one quarter, according to the yard mentioned in the third resolution of the former committee upon the subject of weights and measures : that the pole, or perch, should contain in length five such yards and a half; the furlong two hundred and twenty; and the mile one thousand feven hundred and fixty: that the superficial perch should contain thirty fquare yards and a quarter; the rood one thousand two hundred and ten; and the acre four thousand eight hundred and forty; that according to the fourth, fifth, and fixth resolutions of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the House on the second day of June in the preceding year, the quart ought to contain seventy cubical inches and one half; the pint thirty-five and one quarter; the peck five hundred and fixty-four; and the bushel two thousand two hundred and fifty-fix. That the feveral parts of the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of the former committee, examined and adjusted in presence of this committee, viz. the half pound or fix ounces, quarter of a pound or three ounces, two ounces, one ounce, two half ounces, the five penny-weight, three penny weight, two-penny weight, and one penny weight, the twelve grains, fix grains, three grains, two grains, and two of one grain each, ought to be the models of the several parts of the said pound, and to be used for sizing or adjusting weights for the future. That all weights exceeding a pound thould be of brass, copper, bell-metal, or cast-iron: and all those of cast-iron should be made in the form, and with a handle of hammered iron, such as the pattern herewith produced, having the mark of the weight cast in the iron; and all weights of a pound, or under, should be of gold, silver, brass, copper, or bell-metal. That all weights of cast-iron should have the initial letters of the name of the maker upon the upper bar of the handle; and all other weights should have the same, together with the mark of the weight, according to this Handard, upon some convenient part thereof. That the yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, upon the subject of weights and measures, agreed to by the House in the last session, being the standard of length, and the pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution, being the standard of weight, ought to be deposited in the court of the receipt of the Exchequer, and there safely kept under the seals of the chancellor of the faid Exchequer, and of the chief baron, and the feal of office of the chamberlain of the Exchequer, and not to be opened but by the order and in the presence of the chancellor of the Exchequer and chief baron for the time being. That the most effectual means to ascertain uniformity in meaB O Ó K III. 1759. time it was ordered, that all weights, referred to in the report, should be delivered to the clerk of the House, to be locked up, and brought forth again occasionally.

S XXVI.

fures of length and weight, to be used throughout the realm, would be to appoint certain perfons at one particular office, with clerks and workmen under them, for the purpose only of fizing and adjusting, for the use of the subjects, all measures of length, and all weights, being parts, multiples, or certain proportions of the standards to be used for the future. That a model or pattern of the faid standard yard, mentioned in the second resolution of the former committee, and now in the custody of the clerk of the House, and a model or pattern of the standard pound, mentioned in the eighth resolution of that committee, together with models or patterns of the parts of the faid pound, now presented to the House, and also of the multiples of the said pound, mentioned in this report (when the same are adjusted) should be kept in the said office, in custody of the said persons to be appointed for sizing weights and measures, under the seal of the chief baron of the Exchequer for the time being, to be opened only by order of the faid chief baron, in his presence, or the presence of one of the barons of the Exchequer, on the application of the faid persons, for the purpose of correcting and adjusting, as occafion should require, the patterns or models used at the said office, for sizing measures of length and weight, delivered out to the subjects. That models or patterns of the faid standard yard and standard pound aforefaid, and also models or patterns of the parts and multiples aforesaid of the said pound, should be lodged in the said office for the fizing of such measures of length or weight, as, being parts, multiples, or proportions of the faid standards, should hereafter be required by any of his Majesty's subjects. That all meafures of length and weight, fized at the said office, should be marked in some convenient part thereof with such marks as should be thought expedient, to shew the identity of the measures and weights fized at the said office, and to discover any frauds that may be committed therein. That the faid office should be kept within a convenient distance of the court of Exchequer at Westminster; and that all measures of length and weight, within a certain distance of London, should be corrected and re-affized, as occasion thould require, at the said office. That, in order to enforce the uniformity in weights and measures to be used for the future, all persons appointed by the crown to act as juilices of the peace in any county, city, or town corporate, being respectively counties within themselves, throughout the realm, should be empowered to hear and determine, and put the law in execution, in respect to weights and measures only, without any of them being obliged to sue out a dedimus, or to act in any other matter; and the said commissioners should be empowered to fue, imprison, inflict, or mitigate such penalties as should be thought proper; and have such other authorities as should be necessary for compelling the use of weights and measures, agreeably to the aforesald standards. That models or patterns of the said standard yard and pound, and of the parts and multiples thereof, before-mentioned, should be distributed in each county, in such a manner as to be readily used for evidence in all cases where measures and weights should be questioned before the said commissioners, and for adjusting the same in a proper manner.

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§ XXVI. The House of Commons, among other articles of domestick economy, bestowed some attention on the hospital for foundlings, which was now, more than ever, become a matter of national confideration. accounts relating to this charity having been demanded, and subjected to the inspection of the members, were, together with the King's recommendation, referred to the committee of supply, wherethey produced the resolutions which we have already specified among the other grants of the year. The House afterwards resolved itself into a committee, to deliberate on the state of the hospital, and examine its accounts. On the third day of May their refolutions were reported to the following effect: That the appointing, by the governors and guardians of the faid hospital, places in the several counties, ridings, or divisions in this kingdom, for the first reception of exposed and deferted young children would be attended with many evil consequences; and that the conveying of children from the country to the faid hospital is attended with many evil confequences, and ought to be prevented. A bill was ordered to be brought in, founded upon this last resolution; but never presented, therefore the enquiry produced no effect. Notwithstanding the institution of this charity, for the support of which great sums are yearly levied on the publick, it does not appear that the bills of mortality, respecting new-born children, are decreased, nor the shocking crime of infant-murther rendered less frequent than heretofore. It may, therefore, be not improperly stiled a heavy additional tax for the propagation of bastardy, and the encouragement of idleness, among the common people; besides the tendency it has to extinguish the feelings of the heart, and dissolve those family ties of blood by which the charities are connected.

§ XXVII. In the month of March leave was given to bring in a bill for the more effectual preventing of the melting down and exporting the gold and filver coin of the kingdom, and the persons were nominated to prepare

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BOOK it; but the bill never appeared, and no further enquiry was made about the matter. Perhaps it was supposed that fuch a measure might be thought an encroachment on the prerogative of the crown, which hathalways exercised the power of fixing the standard and regulating the currency of the coin. Perhaps such a step was deferred on account of the war, during which a great quantity of gold and filver was necessarily exported to the continent, for the support of the allies and armies in the pay of Great-Britain. The legislature, however, would do well to consider this eternal maxim in computation, that when a greater quantity of bullion is exported, in waste, than can be replaced by commerce, the nation must be hastening to a state of infolvency. Over and above these proceedings in this feffion of parliament, it may not be unnecessary to mention feveral messages which were sent by the King to the House of Commons. That relating to the vote of credit we have already specified in our account of the supply. On the twenty-fixth day of April the Chancellor of the Exchequer presented to the House two messages, figned by his Majesty, one in favour of his subjects in North-America, and the other in behalf of the East-India company: the former recommending to their confideration the zeal and vigour with which his faithful fubjects in North-America had exerted themselves, in defence of his just rights and possessions; desiring he might be enabled to give them a proper compensation for the expenses incurred by the respective provinces in levying, clothing, and paying the troops raised in that country, according as the active vigour and strenuous efforts of the several colonies should appear to merit. In the latter, he defired the House would empower him to affift the East-India company in defraying the expense of a military force in the East-Indies, to be maintained by them, in lieu of a battalion of regular troops withdrawn from thence, and returned to Ireland. Both these messages were referred to the committee of supply, and produced the resolutions upon

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against Voi upon each subject which we have already explained. The message relating to a projected invasion by the enemies of Great-Britain we shall particularise in its proper place, when we come to record the circumstances and miscarriage of that design. In the mean time, it may not be improper to observe, that the thanks of the House of Commons were voted and given to Admiral Boscawen and Major-General Amherst, for the services they had done their king and country in North-America; and the same compliment was paid to Admiral Osborne, for the success of his cruise in the Mediterranean.

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The fession was closed on the second day § XXVIII. of June with a speech to both Houses, from the commissioners appointed by his Majesty for that purpose. In this harangue the parliament was given to understand, that the King approved of their conduct, and returned them his thanks for their condescension; that the hopes he had conceived of their furmounting the difficulties which lay in the way were founded on the wisdom, zeal, and affection of fo good a parliament; and that his expectations were fully answered; that they had considered the war in all its parts, and notwithstanding its long continuance, through the obstinacy of the enemy, had made fuch provision for the many different operations as ought to convince the adversaries of Great-Britain, that it would be for their interest, as well as for the ease and relief of all Europe, to embrace equitable and honourable terms of accommodation. They were told that, by their affistance, the combined army in Germany had been completed; powerful squadrons, as well as numerous bodies of landforces, were employed in America, in order to maintain the British rights and possessions, and annoy the enemy in the most fensible manner in that country: that, as France was making confiderable preparations in her different ports, he had taken care to put his fleet at home in the best condition, both of strength and situation, to guard against and repel any attempts that might be meditated against his kingdoms: that all his measures had been Vol. IV. Ff directed

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directed to affert the honour of his crown; to preserve the effential interests of his faithful subjects; to support the cause of the protestant religion, and publick liberty: he, therefore, trusted that the uprightness of his intentions would draw down the bleffing of heaven upon his endeavours. He expressed his hope, that the precautions they had taken to prevent and correct the excesses of the privateers would produce the defired effect: a confideration which the king had much at heart; for, though fenfible of the utility of that fervice, when under proper regulations, he was determined to do his utmost to prevent any injuries or hardships which might be sustained by the subjects of neutral powers, as far as might be practicable and confistent with his Majesty's just right to hinder the trade of his enemies from being collusively and fraudulently He not only thanked the Commons, but applauded the firmness and vigour with which they had acted, as well as their prudence in judging, that, notwithflanding the present burthens, the making ample provifion for carrying on the war was the most probable means to bring it to an honourable and happy conclusion. He affured them that no attention should be wanting, on his part, for the faithful application of what had been granted. They were informed he had nothing further to defire, but that they should carry down the same good dispositions, and propagate them in their several counties, which they had shown in their proceedings during the fession. These declarations being pronounced, the parliament was prorogued.

§ XXIX. The people of England, provoked on one hand by the intrigues, the hostilities, and menaces of France, and animated on the other by the pride of triumph and success, which never fails to reconcile them to difficulties, howsoever great, and expense, however enormous, at this period breathed nothing but war, and discoursed about nothing but new plans of conquest. We have seen how liberally the parliament bestowed the nation's money; and the acquiescence of the subjects in

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general under the additional burthenswhich had been imposed, appeared in the remarkable eagerness with which they embarked in the subscription planned by the legislature; in the vigorous assistance they contributed towards manning the navy, recruiting the army, and levying additional forces; and the warlike spirit which began to diffuse itself through all ranks of the people. This was a spirit which the ministry carefully cherished and cultivated, for the support of the war, which, it must be owned, was profecuted with an ardour and efficacy peculiar to the present administration. man war had been for some time adopted as an object of importance by the British councils, and a resolution was taken to maintain it without flinching : at the fame time, it must be allowed, that this consideration had not hitherto weakened the attention of the ministry to the operations in America, where alone the war may be faid to have been carried on and profecuted on British principles, so as to diffress the enemy in their most tender part, and at the fame time acquire the most substantial advantages to the subjects of Britain. For these two purposes, every preparation was made that fagacity could fuggeft, or vigour execute. The navy was repaired and augmented, and in order to man the different squadrons, the expedient of preffing, that difgrace to a British administration, was eral practifed both by landand water with extraordinary rigour lurand vivacity. A proclamation was iffued, offering a conced, fiderable bounty for every feaman and even landman that should, by a certain day, enter voluntarily into the service. one As an additional encouragement to this class of people, s of the King promised his pardon to all seamen who had detriferted from the respective ships to which they belonged, m to provided they should return to their duty by the third day of enor-July; but at the fame time he declared, that those who dilhould neglect this opportunity, at a time when their coun-We ry fo much required their fervice, would, upon being ape naprehended, incur the penalty of a court-martial, and, if As in

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convicted, be deemed unfit objects of the royal mercy.

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All justices of the peace, mayors, and magistrates of corporations throughout Great-Britain were commanded to make particular fearch for ftraggling feamen fit for the fervice, and to fend all that should be found to the nearest fea-port, that they might be fent on board by the feaofficer there commanding. Other methods more gentle and effectual were taken to levy and recruit the landforces. New regiments were raifed, on his Majesty's promife, that every man should be entitled to his discharge at the end of three years, and the premiums for inlifting were increased. Over and above these indulgences, confiderable bounties were offered and given by cities, towns. corporations, and even by individuals, fo univerfally were the people possessed with aspirit of chivalry and adventure. The example was fet by the metropolis, where the common-council resolved that voluntary subscriptions should be received in the chamber of London, to be appropriated as bounty-money to fuch perfons as should engage in his Majesty's service. The city subscribed a considerable sum for that purpose; and a committee of aldermen and commoners was appointed to attend at Guildhall, to receive and apply the fubfcriptions. As a further encouragement to volunteers, they moreover refolved, that every person so entering should be entitled to the freedom of the city, at the expiration of three years, or fooner, if the war fhould be brought to a conclusion. These resolutions being communicated to the King, he was pleafed to fignify his approbation, and return his thanks to the city, in a letter from the fecretary of state to the Lord-Mayor. Large fums were immediately subscribed by different companies, and some private persons; and, in imitation of the capital, bounties were offered by many different communities in every quarter of the united kingdom. At the same time, fuch care and diligence were used in disciplining the militia, that, before the close of the year, the greater part of those truely constitutional battalions rivalled the regular troops in the perfection of their exercise, and seemed to be in all respects as fit for actual service.

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SXXX. Before we proceed to record the transactions C H A P. of the campaign that succeeded these preparations, we shall take notice of some domestick events, which, though not very important in themselves, may nevertheless claim a place in the History of England. In the beginning of the year, the court of London was overwhelmed with affliction at the death of the Princess Dowager of Orange and Naffau, governante of the United Provinces in the minority of her fon, the present Stadtholder. She was the eldest daughter of his Britannick Majesty, possessed of many personal accomplishments and exemplary virtues, pious, moderate, fenfible, and circumspect. She had exercifed her authority with equal fagacity and refolution, respected even by those who were no friends to the house of Orange, and died with great fortitude and refignation\*. In her will she appointed the King her father, and the Princess Dowager of Orange, her mother-in law, honorary tutors, and Prince Louis of Brunswick acting tutor to her children. In the morning after her decease, the States-General, and the States of Holland were extraordinarily affembled, and having received notice of the event, proceeded to confirm the regulations which had been made for theminority of the Stadtholder. Prince Louis of Brunfwick was invited to affift in the affembly of Holland, where he took the oaths, as reprefenting the captain-general of the union. Then he communicated to the affembly the act by which the Princess had appointed him guardian of her He was afterwards invited to the affembly of children. Ff3 the

\* Feeling her end approaching, she delivered a key to one of her attendants, directing him to fetch two papers, which she figned with her own hand. One was a contract of marriage between her daughter and the Prince of Nassau-Weilburg; the other was a letter to the States-General, befeeching them to consent to this marriage, and preserve inviolate the regulations she had made, touching the education and totelage of the young Stadtholder. These two papers being signed and sealed, she sent for her children, exhorted them to make proper improvements on the education they had received, and to live in harmony with each other. Then she implored heaven to shower its bleffings on them both, and embraced them with the most affecting marks of maternal tenderness. She afterwardscontinued to converse calmly and deliberately with her friends, and in a few hours expired.

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B 0 0 K III. 1759. the States-General, who agreed to the refolution of Holland with respect to his guardianship; and in the evening, the different colleges of the government fent formal deputations to the young Stadtholder, and the Princess Caroline, his fifter, in whose names and presence they were received, and answered by their guardian and representative. A formal intimation of the death of the Princess was communicated to the Kingher father, in a pathetick letter, by the States-General, who condoled with him on the irreparable loss which he as well as they had sustained by this melancholy event, and affured him they would employ all their care and attention in fecuring and defending the rights and interests of the young Stadtholder, and the Princess his fifter, whom they considered as the children of the republick. The royal family of England suffered another difaster in the course of this year, by the decease of the Princess Elisabeth-Caroline, second daughter of his late Royal Highness Frederick Prince of Wales, a lady of the most amiable character, who died at Kew in the month of September, before she had attained the eighteenth year of her age.

§ XXXI. Certain privateers continuing their excesses at fea, and rifling neutral ships without distinction or authority, the government resolved to vindicate the honour of the nation, by making examples of those pirates, who, as fast as they could be detected and secured, were brought to trial, and upon conviction facrificed to justice. While these steps were taken to rescue the nation from the reproach of violence and rapacity, which her neighbours had urged with fuch eagerness, equal spirit was exerted in convincing neutral powers that they should not, with impunity, contravene the law of nations, in favouring the enemies of Great-Britain. A great number of causes were tried, relating to difputed captures, and many Dutch veffels, with their cargoes, were condemned after a fair hearing, notwithstanding the loud clamours of that people, and the repeated remonstrances of the States-General.

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CHAP. § XXXII. The reputation of the English was not so much affected by the irregularities of her privateers, armed for rapine, as by the neglect of internal police, and an ingredient of favage ferocity mingled in the national character; an ingredient that appeared but too conspicuous in the particulars of feveral shocking murthers brought to light about this period .--- One Halfey, who commanded a merchant-ship in the voyage from Jamaica to England, having conceived some personal dislike to a poor failor, infulted him with fuch abuse, exposed him to such hardthips, and punished him with such wantonness of barbarity, that the poor wretch leaped overboard in despair. inhuman tyrant envying him that death, which would have refcued a miferable object from his brutality, plunged into the sea after him, and brought him on board, declaring he should not escape so while there were any torments left to inflict. Accordingly, he exercised his tyranny upon him with redoubled vigour, until the poor creature expired, in consequence of the inhumantreatment he had fustained. This favage russian was likewise indicted for the murther of another mariner, but being convicted on the first trial, the second was found unnecessary, and the criminal fuffered death, according to the law, which is perhaps too mild to malefactors convicted of fuch aggravated cruelty .---- Another barbarous murther was perpetrated in the country, near Birmingham, upon a sheriff's officer, by the fons of one Darby, whose effects the bailiff had seised, on a distress for rent. The two young assaffins, encouraged by the father, attacked the unhappy wretch with clubs, and mangled him in a terrible manner, fo that he hardly retained any figns of life. Not contented with this cruel execution, they stripped him naked, and dragging him out of the house, scourged him with a waggoner's whip, until the flesh was cut from his bones. In this miserable condition he was found weltering in his blood, and conveyed to a neighbouring house, where he immediately expired. The three barbarians were apprehended, after having made a desperate resistance. They

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were tried, convicted, and executed: the fons were hung in chains, and the body of the father diffected .-- The widow of a timber-merchant at Rotherhithe being cruelly murthered in her own house, Mary Edmonson, a young woman, her niece, ran out into the street with her own arms cut across, and gave the alarm, declaring her aunt had been affaffinated by four men, who forced their way into the house, and that she (the niece) had received those wounds, in attempting to defend her relation. According to the circumstances that appeared, this unnatural wretch had cut the throat of her aunt and benefactress with a case-knife, then dragged the body from the wash-house to the parlour; that she had stolen a watch and some filver spoons, and concealed them, together with the knife and her own apron, which was foaked with the blood of her parent. After having acted this horrid tragedy, the bare recital of which the humane reader will not peruse without horrour, she put on another apron, and wounded her own flesh, the better to conceal her guilt. Notwithstanding these precautions she was suspected, and committed to pri-Being brought to trial, she was convicted and condemned, upon circumstantial evidence, and finally executed on Kennington-Common, though the denied the fact to the last moment of her life. At the place of execution she behaved with great composure, and, after having spent fome minutes in devotion, protested she was innocent of the crime laid to her charge. What feemed to corroborate this protestation, was the condition and character of the young woman, who had been educated in a fphere above the vulgar, and maintained a reputation without reproach in the country, where she was actually betrothed to a clergyman. On the other hand, the circumstances that appeared against her almost amounted to a certainty, though nothing weaker than proof politive ought to determine a jury in capital cases to give a verdict against the person accused. After all, this is one of those problematick events which elude the force of all evidence, and ferve to confound the pride of human reason. - A miscreant,

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creant, whose name was Haines, having espoused the daughter of a farmer in the neighbourhood of Gloucester, who possessed a small estate, which he intended to divide among feven children, was so abandoned as to form the design of poisoning the whole family, that by virtue of his wife he might enjoy the whole inheritance. For the execution of this infernal scheme, he employed his own father to purchase a quantity of arsenick; part of which he administered to three of the children, who were immediately feifed with the dreadful fymptoms produced by this mineral, and the eldest expired. He afterwards mixed it with three apple-cakes, which he bought for the purpose, and prefented to the other three children, who underwent the fame violence of operation which had proved fatal to the eldest brother. The instantaneous effects of the poison created a suspicion of Haines, who being examined, the whole scene of villainy stood disclosed. Nevertheless, the villain found means to escape.—The uncommon spirit of affaffination which raged at this period feemed to communicate itself even to foreigners who breathed English air. Five French prisoners, confined on board the King's ship the Royal Oak, were convicted of having murthered one Jean de Manaux, their countryman and fellow prifoner, in revenge for his having discovered that they had forged paffes to facilitate their escape. Exasperated at this detection, they feifed this unfortunate informer in the place of their confinement, gagged his mouth, stripped him naked, tied him with a ftrong cord to a ring bolt, and fcourged his body with the most brutal perseverance. By dint of struggling the poor wretch disengaged himself from the cord with which he had been tied: then they finished the tragedy, by leaping and stamping on his breast, till the cheft was broke, and he expired. They afterwards fevered the body into fmall pieces, and these they conveyed at different times into the fea, through the funnel of a convenience to which they had access; but one of the other prisoners gave information of the murther, in consequence of which they were fecured, brought to trial, condemned, and

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and punished with death.—Nor were the instances of cruel affaffination which prevailed at this juncture confined to Great-Britain. At the latter end of the foregoing year, an atrocious massacre was perpetrated by two Genoese mariners upon the master and crew of an English veffel, among whom they were enrolled. These monsters of cruelty were in different watches, a circumflance that favoured the execution of the horrid plan they had concerted. When one of them retired to rest with his fellows of the watch, confifting of the mate and two feamen, he waited till they were fast asleep, and then butchered them all with a knife. Having fo far succeeded without discovery, he returned to the deck, and communicated the exploit to his affociate: then they fuddenly attacked the master of the vessel, and cleft his head with a hatchet, which they likewife used in murthering the man that stood at the helm; a third was likewife dispatched, and no Englishman remained alive but the master's son, a boy, who lamented his father's death with inceffant tears and cries for three days, at the expiration of which he was likewise sacrificed, because the affassins were disturbed by his clamour. This barbarous scene was acted within fixty leagues of the rock of Lisbon; but the vessel was taken between the capes Ortugal and Finisterre, by the captain of a French privateer called La Favourite, who feeing the deck stained with blood, and finding all the papers of the ship destroyed, began to suspect that the master and crew had been murthered. He accordingly taxed them with the murther, and they confessed the particulars. The privateer touched at Vigo, where the captain imparted this detail to the English conful; but the prize, with the two villains on board, was fent to Bayonne in France, where they were brought to condign punishment.

§ XXXIII. We shall close this register of blood with the account of a murther remarkable in all its circumstances, for which a person, called Eugene Aram, suffered at York, in the course of this year. This man, who exercised the profession of a schoolmaster at Knaresborough,

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igh, had, had, as far back as the year one thousand seven hundred CHAP. and forty-five, been concerned with one Houseman, in robbing and murthering Daniel Clarke, whom they had previously persuaded to borrow a considerable quantity of valuable effects from different persons in the neighbourhood on falle pretences, that he might retire with the booty. He had accordingly filled a fack with these particulars, and began his retreat with his two perfidious affociates, who fuddenly fell upon him, deprived him of life, and, having buried the body in a cave, took possession of the plunder. Though Clarke disappeared at once in such a mysterious manner, no suspicion fell upon the assassins; and Aram, who was the chief contriver and agent in the murther, moved his habitation to another part of the country. In the fummer of the present year, Houseman being employed, among other labourers, in repairing the publick highway, they, in digging for gravel by the road fide, discovered the skeleton of a human creature, which the majority supposed to be the bones of Daniel Clarke. This opinion was no fooner broached, than Houseman, as it were by fome fupernatural impulse which he could not refift, declared that it was not the skeleton of Clarke, inafmuch as his body had been interred in a place called St. Robert's Cave, where they would find it, with the head turned to a certain corner. He was immediately apprehended, examined, admitted as evidence for the crown, and discovered the particulars of the murther. The skeleton of Clarke being found exactly in the place and manner he had defcribed, Eugene Aram, who now acted as usher to a grammar-school in the county of Norfolk, was fecured, and brought to trial at the York affifes. There, his own wife corroborating the testimony of Houseman, he was found guilty, and received sentence of death, not with standing a very artful and learned defence, in which he proved, from argument and example, the danger of convicting a man upon circumstantial evidence. Finding all his remonstrances ineffectual, he recommended himself in pathetick terms to the King's mercy; and it

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BOOK ever murther was entitled to indulgence, perhaps it might have been extended, not improperly, to this man, whose genius, in itself prodigious, might have exerted itself in works of general utility. He had, in spite of all the disadvantages attending low birth and ftraitened circumstances, by the dint of his own capacity and inclination, made confiderable progress in mathematicks and philosophy, acquired all the languages ancient and modern, and executed part of a Celtick dictionary, which, had he lived to finish it, might have thrown some effential light upon the origin and obscurities of the European History. Convinced, at last, that he had nothing to hope from the clemency of the government, he wrote a fhort poem in defence of fuicide; and, on the day fixed for his execution, opened the veins of his left arm with a razor, which he had concealed for that purpose. Though he was much weakened by the effusion of blood, before this attempt was discovered; yet, as the instrument had missed the artery, he did not expire until he was carried to the gibbet, and underwent the fentence of the law. His body was conveyed to Knaresborough-forest, and hung in chains, near the place where the murther was perpetrated. These are some of the most remarkable that appeared among many other instances of homicide; a crime that prevails to a degree alike deplorable and furprifing, even in a nation renowned for compassion and placability. But this will generally be the case among people whose paffions, naturally impetuous, are ill reftrained, by laws, and the regulations of civil fociety, which the licentious do not fear, and the wicked hope to evade.

& XXXIV. The Prince of Wales having, in the beginning of June, entered the two-and-twentieth year of his age, the anniversary of his birth was celebrated with great rejoicings at court, and the King received compliments of congratulation on the majority of a prince, who feemed born to fulfill the hopes and complete the happiness of Great-Britain. The city of London prefented an address to the King on this occasion, replete

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with expressions of loyalty and affection, assuring his Majesty, that no hostile threats could intimidate a people animated by the love of liberty, who. confiding in the Divine Providence, and in his Majesty's experienced wisdom and vigorous councils, were resolved to exert their utmost efforts towards enabling their sovereign to repel the insults and defeat the attempts made by the ancient enemies of his crown and kingdom. Congratulations of the same kind were offered by other cities, towns, corporations, and communities, who vied with each other in professions of attachment; and, indeed, there was not the least trace of disaffection perceivable at this juncture in any part of the island.

§ XXXV. So little were the citizens of London diftreffed by the expense, or incommoded by the operations of the war, that they found leifure to plan, and funds to execute magnificent works of art, for the ornament of the metropolis, and the convenience of commerce. They had obtained an act of parliament, empowering them to build a new bridge over the Thames, from Black-friars to the opposite shore, about midway between those of London and Westminster. Commissioners were appointed to put this act in execution; and, at a court of commoncouncil, it was refolved that a fum not exceeding one hundred and forty-four thousand pounds should be forthwith raifed, within the space of eight years, by installments, not exceeding thirty-thousand pounds in one year, to be paid into the chamber of London; that the persons advancing the money should have an interest at the rate of four pounds per cent. per annum, to be paid half yearly by the Chamberlain, yet redeemable at the expiration of the first ten years; and that the Chamberlain should affix the city's feal to fuch instruments as the committee might think fit to give for fecuring the payment of the faid

annuities. Such were the first effectual steps taken to-

wards the execution of a laudable measure, which met

with the most obstinate opposition in the sequel, from the

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B O O K III. 1759. narrow views of particular people, as well as from the prejudice of party.

§ XXXVI. The spirit that now animated the citizens of London was such as small difficulties did not retard, and even considerable losses could not discourage. In the month of November the city was exposed to a dangerous conflagration, kindled in the night by accident in the neighbourhood of the Royal-Exchange, which burned with great fury, notwithstanding the assistance of the firemen and engines employed under the personal direction of the magistracy, consumed a good number of houses, and damaged many more. That whole quarter of the town was filled with consternation: some individuals were beggared; one or two perished in the slames, and some were buried in the ruins of the houses that sunk under the disaster.

& XXXVII. The ferment of mind fo peculiar to the natives of Great-Britain, excited by a strange mixture of genius and caprice, passion and philosophy, study and conjecture, produced at this period some flowers of improvement, in different arts and sciences, that seemed to promife fruit of publick utility. Several perfons invented methods for discovering the longitude at sea, that great desideratum in navigation, for the ascertainment of which fo many nations have offered a publick recompense, and in the investigation of which fo many mathematical heads have been disordered. Some of those who now appeared candidates for the prize deferved encouragement for the ingenuity of their feveral fystems; but he who seemed to enjoy the pre-eminence in the opinion and favour of the publick, was Mr. Irwin, a native of Ireland, who contrived a chair fo artfully poifed, that a person sitting in it on board a ship, even in a rough sea, can, through a telescope, observe the immersion and emersion of Jupiter's fatellites, without being interrupted or incommoded by the motion of the veffel. This gentleman was favoured with the affiftance and protection of Commodore Lord Howe, in whose presence the experiment was tried in feveral

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feveral ships at sea with such success, that he granted a C H A P. certificate, fignifying his approbation; and in confequence of this, Mr. Irwin is faid to have obtained a confiderable reward from the board of Admiralty.

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§ XXXVIII. The people of England, happy in their fituation, felt none of the storms of war and defolation which ravaged the neighbouring countries; but, enriched by a furprifing augmentation of commerce, enjoyed all the fecurity of peace, and all the pleasures of taste and affluence. The university of Oxford having conferred the office of their chancellor, vacant by the death of the Earl of Arran, upon another nobleman of equal honour and integrity, namely, the Earl of Westmorland, he made a publick entrance into that celebrated feat of learning with great magnificence, and was installed amidst the Encænia, which were celebrated with fuch claffical elegance of pomp, as might have rivalled the chief Roman festival of the Augustan age. The chancellor elect was attended by a fplendid train of the nobility and persons of distinction. The city of Oxford was filled with a vast concourse of ftrangers. The processions were contrived with taste, and conducted with decorum. The inftallation was performed with the most striking solemnity. The congratulatory verses, and publick speeches, breathed the spirit of old Rome; and the ceremony was closed by Dr. King, that venerable fage of St. Mary Hall, who pronounced an oration in praise of the new chancellor with all the flow of Tully, animated by the fire of Demosthenes.

§ XXXIX. We shall conclude the remarkable incidents of this year\*, that are detached from the profecution of

\* In the spring of this year the liberal arts sustained a lamentable loss in the death of George Frederick Handel, the most celebrated master in musick which this age had produced. He was by birth a German; but had studied in Italy, and afterwards settled in England, where he met with the most favourable reception, and refided above half a century, univerfally admired for his stupendous genius in the sublime parts of musical composition.

One would be apt to imagine that there was something in the constitution of the air at this period, which was particularly unfavourable to old age, inalmuch as, in the compass of a few months, the following persons, remark-

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BOOK the war, with the detail of an event equally furprifing and deplorable: -- A floop called the dolphin, bound from the Canaries to New-York, met with fuch unfavourable weather, that she was detained one hundred and fixty-five days in the passage, and the provision of the ship was altogether expended before the first fifty days were elapsed. The wretched stew had devoured their dog, cat, and all their shoes on board: at length, being reduced to the utmost extremity, they agreed to cast lots for their lives, that the body of him upon whom the lot should fall might serve for some time to support the survivors. The wretched victim was one Antonio Galatia, a Spanish gentleman and paffenger. Him they shot with a musquet; and having cut off his head, threw it overboard; but the entrails, and the rest of the carcase, they greedily devoured. This horrid banquet having, as it were, fleshed the famished crew, they began to talk of another facrifice, from which, however, they were diverted by the influence and remonstrances of their captain, who prevailed upon them to be fatisfied with a miferable allowance to each per diem, cut from a pair of leather breeches found in the cabbin. Upon this calamitous pittance, re-enforced with the grass which grew plentifully upon the deck, these poor objects made shift to subsist for twenty days, at the expiration of which they were relieved, and taken on board one Captain Bradshaw, who chanced to fall in with them at fea. By this time the whole crew, confisting of seven men, were so squalid and emaciated, as to exhibit an appearance at once piteous and terrible; and so reduced in point of strength, that it was found necessary to use ropes and tackle for hoisting them from

> able for their longevity, died in the kingdom of Scotland; William Barnes, who had been above seventy years a servant in the samily of Brodie, died there, at the age of one hundred and nine. Catharine Mackenzie died in Ross-shire, at the age of one hundred and eighteen. Janet Blair, deceased at Monemusk, in the shire of Aberdeen, turned of one hundred and twelve. Alexander Stephens, in Bamffshire, at the age of one hundred and eight. Janet Harper, at Bains-hole, at the age of one hundred and seven. Daniel Cameron, in Rannach, married when he was turned of one hundred, and furvived his marriage thirty years.

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one thip to the other. The circumstance of the lot CHAP. falling upon the Spaniard, who was the only foreigner on board, encourages a fuspicion that foul play was offered to this unfortunate stranger; but the most remarkable part of this whole incident is, that the mafter and crew could not contrive some fort of tackle to catch fish, with which the fea every where abounds, and which, no doubt, might be caught with the help of a little ingenuity. If implements of this kind were provided in every ship, they would probably prevent all those tragical events at sea that are occasioned by famine.

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§ XL. Previous to the more capital operations in war, we shall particularise the most remarkable captures that were made upon the enemy by fingle ships of war, during the course of this summer and autumn. In the month of February a French privateer belonging to Granville, called the Marquis de Marigny, having on board near two hundred men, and mounted with twenty cannon, was taken by Captain Parker, commander of his Majesty's ship the Montague; who likewise made prize of a smaller armed veffel, from Dunkirk, of eight cannon and fixty About the same period, Captain Graves, of the Unicorn, brought in the Moras privateer of St. Maloes, carrying two hundred men, and two-and-twenty cannon. Two large merchant-ships, loaded on the French King's account for Martinique, with provision, clothing, and arms, for the troops on that island, were taken by Captain Lendrick, commander of the Brilliant; and an English transport from St. John's, having four hundred French prisoners on board, perished near the Western Within the circle of the same month, a large French ship from St. Domingo, richly laden, fell in with the Favourite ship of war, and was carried into Gibraltar.

§ XLI. In the month of February, Captain Hood, of his Majesty's frigate the Vestal, belonging to a small Iquadron commanded by Admiral Holmes, who had failed for the West-Indies in January, being advanced a con-Gg fiderable VOL. IV.

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fiderable way a head of the fleet, descried and gave chase to a fail, which proved to be a French frigate called the Bellona, of two hundred and twenty men, and two-andthirty great gurs, commanded by the Count de Beauhonoire. Captain Hood, having made a figual to the Adntiral, continued the chase until he advanced within half musquet-shot of the enemy, and then poured in a broadfide, which was immediately retorted. The engagement thus begun was maintained with great vigour on both fides for the space of four hours; at the expiration of which the Bellona struck, after having lost all her masts and rigging, together with about forty men killed in the action. Nor was the victor in a much better condition. Thirty men were killed and wounded on board the Vestal. Immediately after the enemy fubmitted, all her rigging being destroyed by the shot, the topmasts fell overboard; and the was otherwife to damaged, that the could not proceed on her voyage. Captain Hood, therefore, returned with his prize to Spithead; and afterwards met with a gracious reception from his Majesty, on account of the valour and conduct he had displayed on this occasion. The Bellona had failed in January from the island of Martinique, along with the Florissant, and another French frigate, from which she had been separated in the passage. Immediately after this exploit, Captain Elliot, of the Æolus frigate, accompanied by the Isis, made prize of a French ship, the Mignonne, of twenty guns, and one hundred and forty men, one of four frigates employed as convoy to a large fleet of merchant-ships, near the island of Rhée.

\$XLII. In the month of March, the English frigates the Southampton and Melampe, commanded by the Captains Gilchrist and Hotham, being at sea to the northward on a cruise, sell in with the Danaë, a French ship of forty cannon, and three hundred and thirty men, which was engaged by Captain Hotham in a ship of half the force, who maintained the battle a considerable time with admirable gallantry, before his consort could come to his assistance. As they fought in the dark, Captain Gilchrist was obliged

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to lie by for fome time, because he could not distinguish the one from the other; but no fooner did the day appear than he bore down upon the Danae with his usual impetuofity, and foon compelled her to furrender: fhe did not strike, however, until thirty or forty of her men were flain: and the gallant Captain Gilchrist received a grapethot in his fhoulder, which, though it did not deprive him of life, yet rendered him incapable of future fervice: a misfortune the more to be lamented, as it happened to a brave officer in the vigour of his age, and in the midst of a fanguinary war, which might have afforded him many other opportunities of fignalizing his courage for the honour and advantage of his country. Another remarkable exploit was atchieved about the fame juncture by Captain Barrington, commander of the ship Achilles, mounted with fixty cannon, who, to the westward of Cape Finistere, encountered a French ship of equal force, called the Count de St. Florentin, bound from Cape Francois on the island of Hispaniola to Rochefort, under the command of the Sieur de Montay, who was obliged to strike, after a close and obstinate engagement, in which he himself was mortally wounded, a great number of his men flain, and his ship so damaged, that she was with difficulty brought into Falmouth. Captain Barrington obtained the victory at the expense of about five-and-twenty men killed and wounded, and all his rigging, which the enemy's shot rendered useless. Two small privateers from Dunkirk were also taken, one called the Marquis de Bareil, by the Brilliant, which carried her into Kinfale in Ireland; the other called the Carilloneur, which struck to the Grace cutter, affisted by the boats of the ship Rochester, commanded by Captain Duff, who fent her into the Downs.

§ XLIII. About the latter end of March, Captain Samuel Falkner, in the ship Windsor, of sixty guns, cruising to the westward, discovered sour large ships to leeward, which, when he approached them, formed the line of battle a-head, in order to give him a warm reception. He accordingly closed with the sternmost ship,

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which

B O O K IH. •759. which sustained his fire about an hour: then the other three bearing away with all the fail they could carry, she struck her colours, and was conducted to Lisbon. She proved to be the Ducde Chartres, pierced for fixty cannon, though at that time carrying no more than four-andtwenty, with a complement of three hundred men, about thirty of whom were killed in the action. She belonged, with the other three that escaped, to the French East-India company, was loaded with gunpowder and naval ftores, and bound for Pondicherry. Two privateers, called La Chaffeur and Le Conquerant, the one from Dunkirk, and the other from Cherbourg, were taken and caaried into Plymouth by Captain Hughes, of his Majesty's frigate the Tamer. A third, called the Defpatch, from Morlaix, was brought into Penzance by the Diligence floop, under the command of Captain Eastwood. fourth, called the Bafque, from Bayonne, furnished with two-and-twenty guns, and above two hundred men, fell into the hands of Captain Parker, of the Brilliant, who conveyed her into Plymouth. Captain Antrobus, of the Surprife, took the Vieux, a privateer of Bourdeaux: and a fifth, from Dunkirk, struck to Captain Knight, of the Liverpool, off Yarmouth. In the month of May a French frigate, called the Arethufa, mounted with twoand-thirty cannon, manned with a large complement of hands, under the command of the Marquis de Vaudrieul, submitted to two British frigates, the Venus and the Thames, commanded by the Captains Harrison and Colby, after a warm engagement, in which fixty men were killed and wounded on the fide of the enemy. In the beginning of June an armed ship, belonging to Dunkirk, was brought into the Downs, by Captain Angel, of the Stag; and a privateer of force, called the Countess de la Serre, was fubdued and taken, after an obstinate action, by Captain Moore, of his Majesty's ship the Adventure.

§ XLIV. Several armed ships of the enemy, and rich prizes, were taken in the West-Indies, particularly two French frigates, and two Dutch ships with French com-

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modities, all richly laden, by fome of the ships of the CHAP. fquadron which Vice-Admiral Cotes commanded on the Jamaica station. A fifth, called the Velour, from St. Domingo, with a valuable cargo on board, being fortified with twenty cannon, and above one hundred men, fell in with the Favourite floop of war, under the command of Captain Edwards, who, after an obstinate dispute, carried her in triumph to Gibraltar. At St. Christopher's, in the West-Indies, Captain Collingwood, commander of the king's ship the Crescent, attacked two French frigates, the Amethyste and Berkeley; the former of which escaped, after a warm engagement, in which the Crescent's rigging was fo much damaged, that fhe could not purfue: but the other was taken, and conveyed into the harbour of Baffeterre. Notwithstanding the vigilance and courage of the English cruisers in those seas, the French privateers fwarmed to fuch a degree, that in the course of this year they took above two hundred fail of British ships, valued at fix hundred thousand pounds sterling. This their fuccess is the more remarkable, as by this time the island of Guadaloupe was in possession of the English, and Commodore Moore commanded a numerous fquadron in those very latitudes.

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§ XLV. In the beginning of October, the Hercules ship of war, mounted with seventy-four guns, under the command of Captain Porter, cruifing in the chops of the Channel, descried to windward a large ship, which proved to be the Florissant, of the same force with the Hercules. Her commander, perceiving the English ship giving chase, did not feem to decline the action; but bore down upon her in a flanting direction, and the engagement began with great fury. In a little time, the Hercules having loft her top-mast, and all her rigging being shot away, the enemy took advantage of this difafter, made the best of his way, and was purfued till eight o'clock next morning, when he escaped behind the isle of Oleron. Captain Porter was wounded in the head with a grape-shot, and lost the use of one leg in the engagement.

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§ XLVI.

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§ XLVI. Having taken notice of all the remarkable captures and exploits that were made and atchieved by fingle ships since the commencement of the present year, we shall now proceed to describe the actions that were performed in this period by the different fquadrons that constituted the naval power of Great-Britain. Intelligence having been received that the enemy meditated an invasion upon some of the British territories, and that a number of flat-bottomed boats were prepared at Havre-de-Grace, for the purpose of disembarking troops, Rear-Admiral Rodney was, in the beginning of July, detached with a small squadron of ships and bombs to annoy and overawe that part of the coast of France. He accordingly anchored in the road of Havre, and made a disposition to execute the instructions he had received. The bomb vessels being placed in the narrow channel of the river leading to Honfleur, began to throw their shells, and continued the bombardment for two-and-fifty hours, without intermission, during which a numerous body of French troops was employed in throwing up entrenchments, erecting new batteries, and firing both with shot and shells upon the affailants. The town was fet on fire in feveral places, and burned with great fury; fome of the boats were overturned, and a few of them reduced to ashes, while the inhabitants for fook the place in the utmost consternation: nevertheless, the damage done to the enemy was too inconfiderable to make amends for the expense of the armament, and the loss of nineteen hundred shells and eleven hundred carcasses, which were expended in this expedition. Bombardments of this kind are at best but expensive and unprofitable operations, and may be deemed a barbarous method of profecuting war, inasmuch as the damage falls upon the wretched inhabitants, who have given no cause of offence, and who are generally spared by an humane enemy, unless they have committed fome particular act of provocation.

§ XLVII. The honour of the British flag was much more effectually afferted by the gallant Admiral Boscawen,

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who, as we have already observed, was entrusted with the conduct of a squadron in the Mediterranean. It must be owned, however, that his first attempt savoured of temerity. Having in vain displayed the British flag in fight of Toulon, by way of defiance to the French fleet that lay there at anchor, he ordered three ships of the line, commanded by the Captains Smith, Harland, and Barker, to advance and burn two ships that lay close to the mouth of the harbour. They accordingly approached with great intrepidity, and met with a very warm reception from divers batteries which they had not before perceived. fmall forts they attempted to destroy, and cannonaded for fome time with great fury; but being over-matched by fuperior force, and the wind subfiding into a calm, they fustained confiderable damage, and were towed off with great difficulty, in a very shattered condition. The Admiral feeing three of his best ships so roughly handled in this enterprise, returned to Gibraltar in order to refit; and M. de la Clue, the French commander of the fquadron at Toulon, seised this opportunity of sailing, in hopes of passing the Straits mouth unobserved, his fleet confisting of twelve large ships, and three frigates. Admiral Boscawen, who commanded fourteen fail of the line, with two frigates, and as many fire-ships, having refitted his fquadron, detached one frigate to cruife off Malaga, and another to hover between Estepona and Ceuta-point; with a view to keep a good look-out, and give timely notice in case the enemy should approach. On the seventeenth day of August, at eight in the evening, the Gibraltar frigate made a fignal that fourteen fail appeared on the Barbary shore, to the eastward of Ceuta; upon which the English admiral immediately heaved up his anchors and went to fea: at day-light he descried seven large ships lying to; but when the English squadron forebore to anfwer their signal, they discovered their mistake, fet all their fails, and made the best of their way. This was the greater part of the French squadron commanded by M. de la Clue, from whom five of his large ships and three fri-

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gates had separated in the night. Even now, perhaps, he might have escaped, had he not been obliged to wait for the Souveraine, which was a heavy failer. At noon the wind, which had blown a fresh gale, died away, and although Admiral Boscawen had made figual to chase, and engage in a line of battle a-head, it was not till half an hour after two that fome of his headmost ships could close with the rere of the enemy; which, though greatly outnumbered, fought with uncommon bravery. The English admiral, without waiting to return the fire of the fternmost, which he received as he passed, used all his endeavours to come up with the Ocean, which M. de la Clue commanded in person; and about four o'clock in the afternoon running athwart her hawfe, poured into her a furious broadfide: thus the engagement began with equal vigour on both fides. This dispute, however, was of short duration. In about half an hour Admiral Bofcawen's mizen-mast and topsail yards were shot away; and the enemy hoisted all the fail they could carry. Mr. Boscawen having shifted his flag from the Namur to the Newark, joined fome other ships in attacking the Centaur, of feventy-four guns, which, being thus overpowered, was obliged to furrender. The British admiral pursued them all night, during which the Souveraine, and the Guerrier, altered their course, and deferted their commander. At day-break, M. de la Clue, whose left leg had been broke in the engagement, perceiving the English fquadron crowding all their fails to come up with him, and finding himself on the coast of Portugal, determined to burn his ships, rather than they should fall into the hands of the victors. The Ocean was run ashore two leagues from Lagos, near the fort of Almadana, the commander of which fired three shot at the English; another captain of the French fquadron followed the example of his commander, and both endeavoured to difembark their men; but the fea being rough, this proved a very tedious and difficult attempt. The captains of the Temeraire and Modelle, instead of destroying their ships, anchored as

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near as they could to the forts Xavierand Lagres, in hopes CHAP. of enjoying their protection; but in this hope they were disappointed. M. de la Clue had been landed, and the command of the Ocean was left to the Count de Carne, who, having received one broadfide from the America. struck his colours, and the English took possession of this noble prize, the best ship in the French navy, mounted with eighty cannon. Captain Bently, of the Warfpight, who had remarkably fignalifed himfelf by his courage during the action of the preceding day, attacked the Temeraire, of feventy-four guns, and brought her off with little damage. Vice-Admiral Broderick, the fecond in command, advancing with his division, burned the Redoubtable, of seventy-four guns, which was bulged, and abandoned by her men and officers; but they made prize of the Modeste, carrying fixty-four guns, which had not been much injured in the engagement. This victory was obtained by the English admiral at a very small expense of men; the whole number of the killed and wounded not exceeding two hundred and fifty on board of the British fquadron, though the carnage among the enemy must have been much more confiderable, as M. de la Clue, in his letter to the French ambassador at Lisbon, owned that on board of his own ship, the Ocean, one hundred men were killed on the fpot, and feventy dangeroufly wounded: but the most severe circumstance of this disaster was the loss of four capital ships, two of which were destroyed, and the other two brought in triumph to England, to be numbered among the best bottoms of the British navy. What augmented the good fortune of the victors, was, that not one officer loft his life in the engagement. Captain Bently, whom the Admiral dispatched to England with the tidings of his fuccess, met with a gracious reception from the King, who knighted him for his gallantry.

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XLVIII. As we propose to throw together all the naval transactions of the year, especially those that happened in the European feas, that they may be comprehended as it

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were in one view, we must now, without regarding the order of time, postpone many previous events of importance, and record the last action by sea that in the course of this year diffinguished the flag of Great Britain. The court of Versailles, in order to embarrass the British ministry, and divert their attention from all external expeditions, had in the winter projected a plan for invading some part of the British dominions; and in the beginning of the year had actually begun to make preparations on different parts of their coast for carrying this designinto execution. Even as far back as the latter end of May, messages from the King to both Houses of parliament were delivered by the Earl of Holdernesseand Mr. Pitt, the two fecretaries of state, fignifying that his Majesty had received advices of preparations making by the French court, with a defign to invade Great-Britain: that though perfuaded, by the univerfalzeal and affection of his people, any fuch attempt must, under the blefling of God, end in the destruction of those who engaged in it; yet he apprehended he should not aft confishent with that paternal care and concern which he had always shewn for the safety and preservation of his subjects, if he omitted any means in his power which might be necessary for their defence : he, therefore, acquainted the parliament with his having received repeated intelligence of the enemy's preparations, to the end that his Majesty might, if he should think proper, in pursuance of the late act of parliament, cause the militia, or fuch part thereof as should be necessary, to be drawn out and embodied, in order to march as occasion These messages were no sooner read, should require. than each House separately resolved to present an address, thanking his Majesty for having communicated this intelligence; affuring him that they would, with their lives and fortunes, support him against all attempts whatever: that, warmed with affection and zeal for his person and government, and animated by indignation at the daring designs of an enemy whose fleet had hitherto shunned the terrour of the British navy, they would chearfully exert their. their utmost efforts to repel all insults, and effectually en- C H A P. able their fovereign, not only to disappoint the attempts of France, but, by the bleffing of God, turn them to their own confusion. The Commons at the same time resolved upon another address, defiring his Majesty would give directions to his lieutenants of the feveral counties, ridings, and places within South-Britain, to use their utmost diligence and attention in executing the feveral acts of parliament made for the better ordering the militia.

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§ XLIX. These and other precautionary steps were accordingly taken; but the administration wisely placed their chief dependence upon the strength of the navy, part of which was fo divided and stationed, as to block up all the harbours of France in which the enemy were known to make any naval armament of consequence. We have feen in what manner Rear-Admiral Rodney visited the town and harbour of Havre-de-Grace, and scoured that part of the coast in successive cruises: we have also recorded the expedition and victory of Admiral Boscawen over the fquadron of La Clue, which was equipped at Toulon, with a defign to affift in the projected invasion. Notwithstanding this difaster, the French ministry persisted in their defign; towards the execution of which they had prepared another confiderablefleet, in the harbours of Rochefort, Brest, and Port-Louis, to be commanded by M. de Conflans, and re-enforced by a confiderable body of troops, which were actually affembled under the Duc d'Aiguillon. at Vannes, in Lower Bretagne. Flat-bottomed boats and transports to be used in this expedition were prepared in different ports on the coast of France; and a small squadron was equipped at Dunkirk, under the command of an enterprising adventurer, called Thurot, who had, in the course of the preceding year, signalised his courage and conduct in a large privateer called the Belleisle, which had scoured the North Seas, taken a number of ships, and at one time maintained an obstinate battle against two English frigates, which were obliged to defist, after having received confiderable damage. This man's name became a

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BOOK terrour to the merchants of Great-Britain; for his valour was not more remarkable in battle than his conduct in eluding the pursuit of the British cruifers, who were fuccessively detached in quest of him, through every part of the German Ocean and North sea, as far as the island of Orkneys. It must be likewise owned, for the honour of human nature, that this bold mariner, though destitute of the advantages of birth and education, was remarkably diffinguished by his generofity and compassion to those who had the misfortune to fall into his power; and that his deportment in every respect entitled him to a much more honourable rank in the fervice of his country. The court of Verfailles were not infensible to his merit. He obtained a commission from the French King, and was vested with the command of the small armament now fitting out in the harbour of Dunkirk. The British government being apprifed of all thefe particulars, took fuch measures to defeat the purposed invasion as must have conveyed a very high idea of the power of Great-Britain to those who confidered, that, exclusive of the force opposed to this design, they at the same time carried on the most vigorous and important operations of war in Germany, America, Thurot's armament at Dunthe East and West-Indies. kirk was watched by an English squadron in the Downs, commanded by Commodore Boys; the port of Havre was guarded by Rear-Admiral Rodney; Mr. Boscawen had been stationed off Toulon, and the coast of Vannes was feoured by a small squadron detached from Sir Edward Hawke, who had during the fummer blocked up the harbour of Brest, where Constans lay with his fleet, in order to be joined by the other divisions of the armament. These different squadrons of the British navy were connected by a chain of separate cruifers; so that the whole coast of France, from Dunkirk to the extremity of Bretagne, was distressed by an actual blockade.

§ L. The French ministry being thus hampered, forbore their attempt upon Britain; and the projected invasion feemed to hang in suspense till the month of August, in

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the beginning of which their army in Germany was de- CHAP. feated at Minden. Their defigns in that country being baffled by this difafter, they feemed to convert their chief attention to their fea-armament; the preparations were refumed with redoubled vigour; and even after the defeat of La Clue, they resolved to try their fortune in a descent. They now proposed to disembark a body of troops in Ire-Thurot received orders to fail from Dunkirk with the first opportunity, and shape his course round the northern parts of Scotland, that he might alarm the coast of Ireland, and make a diversion from that part where Conflans intended to effectuate the disembarkation of his forces. The transports and ships of war were affembled at Brest and Rochefort, having on board a train of artillery, with faddles, and other accoutrements for cavalry, to be mounted in Ireland; and a body of French troops, including part of the Irish brigade, was kept in readiness to embark. The execution of this scheme was, however, prevented by the vigilance of Sir Edward Hawke, who blocked up the harbour of Brest with a fleet of twenty-three capital ships; while another squadron of smaller ships and frigates, under the command of Captain Duff, continued to cruife along the French coast, from Port L'Orient, in Bretagne, to the point of St. Gilles in Poitou. At length, however, in the beginning of November, the British squadron, commanded by Sir Edward Hawke, Sir Charles Hardy, and Rear-Admiral Geary, were driven from the coast of France by stress of weather, and on the ninth day of the month anchored in Torbay. The French admiral, Conflans, fnatched this opportunity of failing from Brest, with oneand-twenty fail of the line and four frigates, in hopes of being able to deftroy the English squadron commanded by Captain Duff, before the larger fleet could return from the coast of England. Sir Edward Hawke having received intelligence that the French fleet had failed from Breft, immediately stood to sea, in order to pursue them; and in the mean time, the government iffued orders for guarding all those parts of the coast that were thought the most exposed

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posed to a descent. The land-forces were put in motion, and quartered along the shore of Kent and Sussex : all the flips of war in the different harbours, even those that had just arrived from America, were ordered to put to fea, and every step was taken to disconcert the designs of the enemy.

§ LI. While these measures were taken with equal vigour and deliberation, Sir Edward Hawke steered his course directly for Quiberon, on the coast of Bretagne, which he supposed would be the rendezvous of the French fquadron; but, notwithstanding his utmost efforts, he was driven by a hard gale confiderably to the westward, where he was joined by two frigates, the Maidstone and Coven-These he directed to keep a-head of the squadron. The weather growing more moderate, the former made the fignal for feeing a fleet, on the twentieth day of November, at half an hour past eight o'clock in the morning, and in an hour afterwards discovered them to be the enemy's fquadron. They were at that time in chase of Captain Duff's squadron, which now joined the large fleet, after having run some risque of being taken. Edward Hawke, who, when the Maidstone gave the first notice, had formed the line a-breaft, now perceiving that the French admiral endeavoured to escape with all the fail he could carry, threw out a fignal for feven of his ships that were nearest the enemy to chase, and endeavour to detain them, until they could be re-enforced by the rest of the squadron, which were ordered to form into a line of battle a-head, as they chased, that no time might be lost in the pursuit. Considering the roughness of the weather, which was extremely tempestuous; the nature of the coast, which is in this place rendered very hazardous by a great number of fand-banks, shoals, rocks, and islands, as entirely unknown to the British sailors, as they were familiar to the French navigators; the dangers of a short day, dark night, and lee-shore; it required extraordinary resolution in the English admiral to attempt hostilities on this occasion: but Sir Edward Hawke, steeled

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with the integrity and fortitude of his own heart, animated by a warm love for his country, and well acquainted with the importance of the stake on which the safety of that country in a great measure depended, was resolved to run extraordinary risques in his endeavours to frustrate at once a boasted scheme projected for the annoyance of his fellowsubjects. With regard to his ships of the line, he had but the advantage of one in point of number, and no superiority in men or metal, confequently, M. de Conflans might have hazarded a fair battle on the open fea, without any imputation of temerity: but he thought proper to play a more artful game, though it did not fucceed according to his expectation. He kept his fleet in a body, and retired close in shore, with a view to draw the English squadron among the shoals and islands, on which he hoped they would pay dear for their rashness and impetuosity, while he and his officers, who were perfectly acquainted with the navigation, could either stay, and take advantage of the difaster, or, if hard pressed, retire through channels unknown to the British pilots. At half an hour after two. the van of the English fleet began the engagement with the rear of the enemy, in the neighbourhood of Belleisle. Every ship as she advanced poured in a broadside on the fternmost of the French, and bore down upon their van. leaving the rear to those that came after. Hawke, in the Royal George, of one hundred and ten guns, referved his fire in paffing through the rear of the enemy, and ordered his mafter to bring him along-fide of the French admiral, who commanded in person on board the Soleil Royal, a ship mounted with eighty cannon, and provided with a complement of twelve hundred men. When the pilot remonstrated that he could not obey his command, without the most imminent risque of running upon a shoal, the brave veteran replied, "You have done " your duty in showing the danger; now you are to com-" ply with my order, and lay me along-fide the Soleil "Royal." His wish was gratified: the Royal George ranged up with the French admiral. The Thefee, another

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other large ship of the enemy, running up between the two commanders, fustained the fire that was referved for the Soleil Royal; but in returning the first broadfide foundered. in consequence of the high sea that entered her lower deckports, and filled her with water. Notwithstanding the boifterous weather, a great number of thips on both fides fought with equal fury and dubious fuccess, till about four in the afternoon, when the Formidable struck her colours. The Superbe shared the fate of the Thefee in going to the The Hero hauled down her colours in token of submission, and dropped anchor; but the wind was so high, that no boat could be fent to take poffession. this time day-light began to fail, and the greater part of the French fleet escaped under cover of the darkness. Night approaching, the wind blowing with augmented violence on a lee-shore, and the British squadron being entangled among unknown shoals and islands, Sir Edward Hawke made the figual for anchoring to the westward of the small island Dumet; and here the fleet remained all night in a very dangerous riding, alarmed by the fury of the storm, and the inceffant firing of guns of diffress, without their knowing whether it proceeded from friend or enemy. The Soleil Royal had, under favour of the night, anchored also in the midst of the British squadron; but at daybreak M. de Conflans ordered her cable to be cut, and she drove a-shore to the westward of Crozie. The English admiral immediately made fignal to the Effex to flip cable, and pursue her; and, in obeying this order, she ran unfortunately on a fand-bank called Lefour, where the Refolution, another thip of the British squadron, was already grounded. Here they were both irrecoverably loft, in spite of all the affiftance that could be given: but all their men, and part of their stores, were faved, and the wrecks fet on fire by order of the admiral. He likewise detached the Portland, Chatham, and Vengeance to destroy the Soleil Royal, which was burned by her own people, before the English ships could approach; but they arrived time enough to reduce the Hero to ashes on the Lefour, where she

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she had been also stranded; and the Juste, another of their CHAP. great ships, perished in the mouth of the Loire. The Admiral, perceiving feven large ships of the enemy riding at anchor between Point Penvas and the mouth of the river Vilaine, made the fignal to weigh, in order to attack them, but the fury of the storm increased to such a degree, that he was obliged to remain at anchor, and even order the top-gallant-masts to be struck. In the mean time, the French ships being lightened of their cannon, their officers took advantage of the flood, and a more moderate gale under the land, to enter the Vilaine, where they lay within half a mile of the entrance, protected by some occasional batteries erected on the shore, and by two large frigates moored across the mouth of the harbour. Thus they were effectually fecured from any attempts of small veffels; and as for large ships, there was not water sufficient to float them within fighting distance of the enemy. On the whole, this battle, in which a very inconfiderable number of lives was loft, may be confidered as one of the most perilous and important actions that ever happened in any war between the two nations; for it not only defeated the projected invasion, which had hung menacing so long over the apprehensions of Great-Britain; but it gave the finishing blow to the naval power of France, which was totally disabled from undertaking any thing of consequence in the fequel\*. By this time, indeed, Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk, and directed his course to the North-Sea, whither he was followed by Commodore Boys, who nevertheless was disappointed in his pursuit; but the fate of that enterprifing adventurer falls under the annals of the ensuing year, among the transactions of which it shall be recorded. As for Sir Edward Hawke, he continued cruifing off the coast of Bretagne for a considerable

VOL. IV. Hh time \* During this war, the English had already taken and destroyed twentyfeven French ships of the line, and thirty-one frigates : two of their great ships and four frigates perished; so that their whole loss, in this particular, amounted to fixty-four; whereas, the loss of Great-Britain did not exceed seven fail of the line, and five frigates. It may be eafily conceived how the French marine, at first greatly inferior to the naval power of Britain, must have been affected by this dreadful balance to its prejudice.

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BOOK time after the victory he had obtained, taking particular care to block up the mouth of the river Vilaine, that the feven French ships might not escape and join M. Conflans, who made shift to reach Rochefort with the shattered remains of his fquadron. Indeed, this fervice became fuch a confiderable objectinthe eyes of the British ministry, that a large fleet was maintained upon this coaft, apparently for no other purpose, during a whole year, and, after all, the enemy eluded their vigilance. Sir Edward Hawke, having undergone a long and dangerous conflict with tempestuous weather, was at length recalled, and presented to his fovereign, who gratified him with a confiderable penfion, for the courage and conduct he had so often and so long displayed in the fervice of his country; and his extraordinary merit was afterwards honoured with the approbation of the parliament. The people of France were fo dispirited by the defeat of their army at Minden, and the difaster of their squadron at Lagos, that the ministry of Verfailles thought proper to conceal the extent of their last misfortune under a palliating detail published in the Gazette of Paris, as a letter from M. Conflans to the Count de St. Florentin, fecretary of the marine. In this partial mifrepresentation their admiral was made to affirm, that the British fleet confisted of forty ships of the line of battle, besides frigates; that the Soleil Royal had obliged the Royal George to sheer off; that the seven ships which retreated into the river Vilaine had received very little damage, and would be foon repaired; and that, by the junction of Bompart's squadron, he should be soon able to give a good account of the English admiral. These tumidaffertions, fo void of truth, are not to be imputed to an illiberal spirit of vain glory, so much as to a political defign of extenuating the national calamity, and supporting the spirit of the people.

§ LII. The alarm of the French invafion, which was thus fo happily frustrated, not only disturbed the quiet of Great-Britain, but also diffused itself to the kingdom of Ireland, where it was productive of some publick diforder.

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In the latter end of October the two Houses of parliament, affembled at Dublin, received a formal meffage from the Duke of Bedford, lord-lieutenant of that kingdom, to the following effect: That, by a letter from the secretary of state, written by his Majesty's express command, it appeared that France, far from refigning her plan of invalion, on account of the difaster that befel her Toulon squadron, was more and more confirmed in her purpose, and even instigated by despair itself, to attempt at all hazards the only resource she seemed to have left for thwarting, by a diversion at home, the measures of England abroad in profecuting a war which hitherto opened, in all parts of the world, fo unfavourable a profpect to the views of French ambition: that in case the body of French troops, amounting to eighteen thousand men, under the command of the Duc d'Aiguillon, affembled at Vannes, where also a sufficient number of transports was prepared, should be able to elude the British squadron, Ireland would, in all probability, be one of their chief objects; his grace thought it, therefore, incumbent upon him, in a matter of fuch high importance to the welfare of that kingdom, to communicate this intelligence to the Irish parliament. He told them, his Majesty would make no doubt but that the zeal of his faithful protestant subjects in that kingdom had been already fufficiently quickened by the repeated accounts received of the enemy's dangerous defigns, and actual preparations made, at a vast expense, in order to invade the feveral parts of the British dominions. He gave them to understand he had received his sovereign's commands to use his utmost endeavours to animate and excite his loyal people of Ireland to exert their well-known zeal and spirit in support of his Majesty's government, and in defence of all that was dear to them, by timely preparation to refift and frustrate any attempts of the enemy to disturb the quiet and shake the security of this kingdom: he, therefore, in the strongest manner, recommended it to them to manifest, upon this occasion, that zeal for the present happy Hh 2 establishment,

C H A P. X. B O O K III. establishment, and that affection for his Majesty's person and government, by which the parliament of that nation had been so often distinguished. Immediately after this message was communicated, the House of Commons unanimously resolved to present an address to the Lord-Lieutenant, thanking his grace for the care and concern he had shown for the fafety of Ireland in having imparted intelligence of fo great importance; defiring him to make use of such means as should appear to him the most effectual for the fecurity and defence of the kingdom; and affuring him, that the House would make good whatever expense should be necessarily incurred for that purpose. This intimation, and the steps that were taken in consequence of it for the defence of Ireland, produced fuch apprehenfions and distraction among the people of that kingdom, as had well nigh proved fatal to the publick credit. In the first transports of popular fear, there was fuch an extraordinary run upon the banks of Dublin, that feveral confiderable bankers were obliged to stop payment; and the circulation was in danger of being suddenly stagnated, when the Lord-Lieutenant, the members of both Houses of parliament, the lord-mayor, aldermen, merchants, and principal traders of Dublin, engaged in an affociation to support publick credit, by taking the notes of bankers in payment: a refolution which effectually answered the purpose intended.

§ LIII. Howfoever the court of Verfailles might have flattered itself that their invading army would in Ireland be joined by a great number of the natives, in all probability it would have been disappointed in this hope, had their purposed descent even been carried into execution, for no signs of disaffection to the reigning family appeared at this juncture. On the contrary, the wealthy individuals of the Romish persuasion offered to accommodate the government with large sums of money, in case of necessity, to support the present establishment against all its enemies; and the Roman catholicks of the city of Cork, in a body, presented an address to the Lord-Lieutenant,

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expressing their loyalty in the warmest terms of affurance. C H A P. After having congratulated his grace on the unparalleled. fuccesses which had attended his Majesty's arms, and expreffed their fense of the King's paternal tenderness for his kingdom of Ireland, they acknowledged, with the deepeft fense of gratitude, that protection and indulgence they had enjoyed under his Majesty's mild and auspicious reign. They professed the warmest indignation at the threatened invasion of the kingdom, by an enemy, who, grown defperate from repeated defeats, might possibly make that attempt as a last effort, vainly flattered with the imaginary hope of affistance in Ireland, from the former attachments of their deluded predecessors. They assured his grace, in the most folemn manner, that such schemes were altogether inconfistent with their principles and intentions: that they would, to the utmost exertion of their abilities, with their lives and fortunes, join in the defence and support of his Majesty's royal person and government against all invaders whatfoever: that they should be always ready to concur in fuch measures, and to act fuch parts in defence of the kingdom, in common with the rest of his Majesty's subjects, as his grace in his great wisdom should be pleased to appoint; and think themselves particularly happy to be under the direction and command of so known an affertor of liberty, fuch an important and distinguished governor. Finally, they expressed the most earnest wish, that his Majesty's arms might be crowned with such a continuance of fuccess, as should enable him to defeat the devices of all his enemies, and obtain a speedy and honourable peace. This cordial address, which was transmitted to the Earl of Shannon, and by him prefented to the Duke of Bedford, must have been very agreeable to the government at fuch a critical conjuncture.

§ LIV. Although no traces of disaffection to his Majefty's family appeared on this trying occasion, it must nevertheless be acknowledged that a spirit of dissatisfaction broke out with extraordinary violence among the populace of Dublin. The present Lord-Lieutenant was not remark-

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B O O K III. 1759. ably popular in his administration. He had bestowed one place of confiderable importance upon a gentleman whose person was obnoxious to many people in that kingdom, and perhaps failed in that affability and condescension which a free and ferocious nation expects to find in the character of him to whose rule they are subjected. Whether the offence taken at his deportment had created enemies to his person, or the nation in general began to entertain doubts and jealousies of the government's designs; certain it is, great pains were taken to propagate a belief among the lower fort of people, that an union would foon be effected between Great-Britain and Ireland; in which case this last kingdom would be deprived of its parliament and independency, and be subjected to the same taxes that are levied upon the people of England. This notion inflamed the populace to fuch a degree, that they affembled in a prodigious multitude, broke into the House of Lords, infulted the peers, feated an old woman on the throne, and fearched for the journals, which, had they been found, they would have committed to the flames. content with this outrage, they compelled the members of both Houses whom they met in the streets to take an oath that they would never confent to fuch an union, or give any vote contrary to the true interest of Ireland. Divers coaches belonging to obnoxious persons were destroyed, and their horses killed; and a gibbet was erected for one gentleman in particular, who narrowly escaped the ungovernable rage of those riotous infurgents. A body of horse and infantry were drawn out on this occasion, in order to over-awe the multitude, which at night dispersed of itself. Next day addresses to the Lord-Lieutenant were agreed to by both Houses of parliament, and a committee of enquiry appointed, that the ringleaders of the tumult might be discovered, and brought to condign punishment.

§ LV. When the ministry of England received the first advice that M. Thurot had escaped from Dunkirk with a small squadron of armed ships, having on board a body

of land-troops, defigned for a private expedition on the CHAP. coast of Scotland or Ireland, expresses were immediately dispatched to the commanding officers of the forces in North-Britain, with orders to put the forts along the coast of that kingdom in the best posture of defence; and to hold every thing in readiness to repel the enemy, in case they should attempt a descent. In consequence of these instructions, beacons were erected for the immediate communication of intelligence; places of rendezvous appointed for the regular troops and militia; and strict orders issued that no officer should absent himself from his duty, on any pretenfe whatever. The greatest encomium that can be given to the character of this partizan, is an account of the alarm which the failing of his puny armament spread through the whole extent of fuch a powerful kingdom, whose fleets covered the ocean. Perhaps Thurot's career would have been fooner stopped, had Commodore Boys been victualled for a longer cruise; but this commander was obliged to put into Leith for a fupply of provisions, at the very time when Thurot was feen hovering on the coast near Aberdeen; and before the English squadron was provided for a profecution of the cruife, the other had taken shelter at Gottenburg, in Sweden.

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